A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY J. JUSTAMOND, M. A.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

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MVSEVM
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INDEX TO THE FOURTH VOLUME.

BOOK XV.

REASONS why the French have founded their colonies in America so late. —— Page 1
First expeditions of the French into North America. - 2
The French turn their views towards Canada. - 8
Government, cuſtoms, virtues, vices and wars of the ſavages that inhabited Canada. —— 10
The French embroil themſelves improperly in the wars of the ſavages. —— —— 37
The French colony makes no progreſs. Cauſe of this languor. —— —— —— 41
The French are rouzed from their inactivity. Means by which this change was effected. —— 44
The furs are the foundation of the connections between the French and the Indians. —— 51
In what places, and in what manner the fur trade was carried on. —— —— 64
France is compelled to cede part of the provinces that were united to Canada. —— 71

BOOK XVI.

Account of the French ſettlements in North America continued. —— 75
The French to repair their loſſes people and fortify Cape-Breton; and eſtabliſh conſiderable fiſheries there. 76
Settlement of the French in the iſland of St. John. 83
Diſcovery of the Miſſiſippi by the French. — 85
The French ſettle in the country that is watered by the Miſſiſippi, and call it Louiſiana. — 89
Louiſiana becomes very famous in the time of Law's ſyſtem. —— —— —— 91
Extent, climate, fertility, and original inhabitants of Louiſiana. —— —— —— 95
What the French have done in Louiſiana. —— 104
What the French might have done in Louiſiana. — 111
France cedes Louiſiana to the Spaniards. Whether ſhe had a right to do this. —— —— 114
State of Canada at the peace of Utrecht. —— 118
Population, agriculture, manners, government, fiſheries, induſtry, and revenues of Canada. *ibid.*
Advantages which France might have derived from Canada. Errors which have deprived her of them. 132
Origin of the wars between the Engliſh and the French in Canada. —— —— 139

INDEX TO THE FOURTH VOLUME.

Page

Conqueſt of Cape-Breton by the Engliſh. — 140
The Engliſh attack Canada. — 144
Taking of Quebec by the Engliſh. — 151
Canada is ceded to the Engliſh. What advantages they might derive from that poſſeſſion. — 154

BOOK XVII.

Engliſh colonies ſettled at Hudſon's bay, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New England, New York, and New Jerſey. — — — 158
Firſt expeditions of the Engliſh in North America. *ibid.*
The continent of America is peopled by the religious wars that diſturb England. — 161
Parallel between the old and the new world. — 169
Compariſon between civilized people and ſavages. 177
In what ſtate the Engliſh found North America, and what they have done there. — — 183
Climate of Hudſon's bay, and cuſtoms of its inhabitants. Trade carried on there. — 185
Whether there is a paſſage at Hudſon's bay leading to the Eaſt Indies. — — 193
Deſcription of Newfoundland. — 198
Fiſheries eſtabliſhed at Newfoundland. — 201
The French give up Nova Scotia to England, after having been a long time in poſſeſſion of it themſelves. 213
Manners of the French who remained ſubject to the Engliſh government in Nova Scotia. — 217
Preſent ſtate of Nova Scotia. — 222
Foundation of New England. — — 225
Fanaticiſm occaſions great calamities in New England. 228
Severities ſtill ſubſiſting in the laws of New-England. 232
Government, population, cultures, manufactures, trade, and navigation of New England. — 233
New York founded by the Dutch, paſſes into the hands of the Engliſh. — — 242
Flouriſhing ſtate of New York. Cauſes of its proſperity. — — — 245
In what manner New Jerſey fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Its preſent ſtate. — 250

BOOK XVIII.

Engliſh colonies founded in Penſylvania, Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. General reflections on all theſe ſettlements. — 254
The Quakers found Penſylvania. Manners of that ſect. *ibid.*
Upon what principles Penſylvania was founded. 261
Proſperity of Penſylvania. — 265

Page
Wretched ſtate of Virginia at its firſt ſettlement. 280
Adminiſtration of Virginia. 284
Maryland is detached from Virginia. 289
Virginia and Maryland cultivate the ſame productions. 292
Origin of Carolina. 299
Syſtem of religious and civil government eſtabliſhed by Locke in Carolina. 309
Climate and produce of Carolina. 303
Foundation of Georgia. 311
Impediments that have prevented the progreſs of Georgia. 314
Hiſtory of Florida. Its ceſſion from the Spaniards to the Engliſh. 317
By what means England may render Florida uſeful to her. 322
Extent of the Britiſh dominions in North America. 324
Trees peculiar to North America. 327
Birds peculiar to North America. 328
The Engliſh ſupply North America with domeſtic animals. 330
European grain carried into North America by the Engliſh. 331
The Engliſh find the neceſſity of having their naval ſtores from America. 332
England begins to get iron from North America. 336
England endeavours to procure wine and ſilk from North America. 338
What kind of men England peoples her North American colonies with. 341
Preſent ſtate of population in the Engliſh provinces of North America. 352
Happineſs of the inhabitants in the Britiſh colonies of North America. 354
What kind of government is eſtabliſhed in the Britiſh colonies of North America. 356
The coin current in the Engliſh colonies of North America. 365
The Engliſh colonies in North America are ſhackled in their induſtry and commerce. 367
The mother country has attempted to eſtabliſh taxes in the colonies of North America. Whether ſhe had a right to do this. 371
Whether the colonies ſhould ſubmit to be taxed. 381
How far the colonies ought to carry their oppoſition to taxation. 384
Whether it would be of uſe to the colonies to break through the ties which unite them to the mother country. 387

Page

Whether it would be proper for the European nations to endeavour to render the English colonies independent of the mother country. —— 588

BOOK XIX.

Religion —— —— —— 392
Government. —— —— —— 397
Policy. —— —— —— —— 433
War. —— —— —— —— 445
Navy. —— —— —— 455
Commerce. —— —— —— 465
Agriculture. —— —— 480
Manufactures. —— —— 488
Population. —— —— —— 498
Taxes. —— —— —— —— 511
Public credit. —— —— 520
Fine arts and belles lettres. —— 526
Philosophy. —— —— 533
Morals. —— —— —— —— 543

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BOOK XV.

BOOK XV.

SPAIN was mistress of the rich empires of Mexico and Peru, the gold of the new world, and of almost all South America. The Portuguese, after a long series of victories, defeats, enterprises, mistakes, and losses, had kept the most valuable settlements in Africa, in India, and in the Brazils. The French government had not even conceived it possible to establish colonies, or imagined that any advantage could be derived from having possessions in those distant regions.

Reasons why the French have founded their colonies in America so late.

THEIR ambitious views were turned entirely towards Italy. Some old claims on the Milanese and the two Sicilies had involved them in expensive wars, in which they had been engaged for a long time. Their internal commotions diverted them still more from the great ob-

BOOK XV.

ject of eſtabliſhing a diſtant and extenſive commerce, and from the idea of increaſing their dominions by conqueſts in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies.

THE authority of kings was not openly conteſted, but it was reſiſted and eluded. Some remains of the feudal government were ſtill ſubſiſting, and many of its abuſes had not yet been aboliſhed. The prince was continually employed in reſtraining the reſtleſs ſpirit of a powerful nobility. Moſt of the provinces were governed by diſtinct laws and forms of their own. Every ſociety, every order in the ſtate enjoyed peculiar privileges, which were either oppoſed or carried to exceſs. The government was a complicated machine, which could only be regulated by the management of a variety of delicate ſprings. The court was frequently under a neceſſity of having recourſe to the ſhameful reſources of intrigue and corruption, or to the odious means of oppreſſion and tyranny; and the nation was for ever negociating with the prince. Regal authority was unlimited, without having received the ſanction of the laws; and the people, though frequently too independent, had yet no ſecurity for their liberty. This occaſioned continual jealouſies, apprehenſions and ſtruggles. The whole attention of the government was not directed to the welfare of the nation, but to the means of enſlaving it. The people were ſenſible of their wants, but ignorant of their powers and reſources. They felt their rights alternately invaded or trampled upon, by their lords or their ſovereigns.

Firſt expeditions of the French into North America.

FRANCE, therefore, ſuffered the Spaniards and Portugueſe to diſcover new worlds, and to give new laws to unknown nations. They were rouzed, at length, by admiral Coligny, a man of the moſt extenſive, ſteady and active genius, that ever flouriſhed in that powerful empire. This great politician, attentive to the intereſts

of

of his country, even amidſt the horrors of a civil war, ſent John Ribaud to Florida in 1562. That vaſt tract of North America then extended from Mexico to the country which the Engliſh have ſince cultivated under the name of Carolina. The Spaniards had run over it in 1512, but did not ſettle there. The motives that engaged them to make this diſcovery, and thoſe which induced them to relinquiſh it, are equally matters of ſurpriſe to us.

ALL the Indians of the Caribbee iſlands believed, upon the credit of an old tradition, that nature had concealed a ſpring or fountain ſomewhere on the continent, whoſe waters had the property of reſtoring youth to all old men who were ſo fortunate as to drink of them. This idea delighted the romantic imagination of the Spaniards. The loſs of many, who were the victims of their credulity, did not diſcourage the reſt. Rather than ſuſpect that the firſt had periſhed in an attempt, of which death would be the moſt certain conſequence, they concluded, that if they did not return, it was becauſe they had found the art of enjoying perpetual youth and diſcovered that delightful ſpot, which they did not chuſe to quit.

PONCE de LEON was the moſt famous of the navigators who were infatuated with this chimerical idea. Fully perſuaded that a third world exiſted, the conqueſt of which was reſerved to add to his fame; but thinking that the remainder of his life was much too ſhort for the immenſe career that was opening before him, he reſolved to go and renew it, and recover that youth which he was ſo much in need of. He immediately bent his courſe towards thoſe climates where fable had placed the fountain of youth, and found Florida, from whence he returned to Porto-Rico, viſibly more advanced in years than when he ſat out. Thus chance immortalized the name of an

BOOK XV.

adventurer, who made a real diſcovery, merely by running after an imaginary one.

THERE is ſcarce any uſeful and important diſcovery made by the human mind, that has not been rather owing to a reſtleſs imagination, than to induſtry excited by reflection. Chance, which is the imperceptible courſe of nature, is never at reſt, and aſſiſts all men without diſtinction. Genius grows weary and is ſoon diſcouraged; it falls to the lot only of a few, and exerts itſelf but for a ſhort ſpace. Its very efforts can only throw it in the way of chance, and give occaſion to make uſe of its aſſiſtance. The only difference between a man of genius and one of common capacity is, that the former can foreſee and ſearch for what the latter ſometimes finds. But even the man of genius himſelf more frequently makes uſe of what chance has thrown in his way. It is the lapidary who puts the value on the diamond which the peaſant has ignorantly dug up.

THE Spaniards had deſpiſed Florida, becauſe they did not diſcover there either the fountain that was to make them all grow young, or gold which haſtens the period of old age. The French found there a more real and valuable treaſure; a clear ſky, a fruitful ſoil, a temperate climate, ſavages who were lovers of peace and hoſpitality; but they themſelves were not ſenſible of the worth of theſe advantages. Had they followed the directions of Coligny; had they tilled the ground, which only wanted the aſſiſtance of man to yield him its treaſures, had a due ſubordination been maintained amongſt the Europeans; had not the rights of the natives of the country been violated; a colony might have been founded, which in time would have become a flouriſhing and permanent ſettlement. But the levity of the French was inconſiſtent with ſo much wiſdom. The proviſions were waſted;

waſted; the fields were not ſown; the authority of the chiefs was ſlighted by ungovernable ſubalterns; they were led away by a paſſion for hunting and war; in ſhort, they did nothing of what they ought to have done. To complete their misfortune, the civil diſturbances in France diverted the attention of the ſubjects from an undertaking in which the government had never taken any concern. Theological diſputes alienated the minds and divided the hearts of all ranks of people. Government had violated the ſacred laws of nature, which enjoin all men to tolerate the opinions of their fellow-creatures; and thoſe of policy which forbid the exertion of tyranny more eſpecially at an improper time. The reformed religion had made great progreſs in France when it was perſecuted. A conſiderable part of the nation was involved in the proſcription, and took up arms.

SPAIN, though not leſs intolerant, had prevented religious diſturbances, by ſuffering the clergy to aſſume that authority which has been continually increaſing to our times, but which, for the future, will be conſtantly on the decline. The inquiſition, always ready to oppoſe the leaſt appearance of innovation, found means to prevent the proteſtant faith from making its way into the nation, and, therefore, was not at the pains of deſtroying it. Philip II. wholly taken up with America, and accuſtomed to conſider himſelf as the ſole proprietor of it, being informed of the attempts made by ſome Frenchmen to ſettle there, and of their being neglected by their own government, fitted out a fleet from Cadiz to deſtroy them. Menendez who commanded this fleet landed in Florida, where he found the enemies he went in queſt of, ſettled at Carolina fort. He attacked all their intrenchments, carried them ſword in hand, and made a dreadful maſſacre. All who eſcaped the carnage, were hanged on a

BOOK XV.

tree with this inſcription: *not as Frenchmen, but as heretics.*

FAR from ſeeking to revenge this inſult, the miniſtry of Charles IX ſecretly rejoiced at the miſcarriage of a project which they had, indeed, approved, but did not countenance, becauſe it had been contrived by the head of the Huguenots, and might reflect honour on their party. The indignation of the public did but ſtrengthen them in their reſolution of ſhewing no reſentment. It was reſerved for a private man to execute what the ſtate ought to have done.

DOMINIC de Gourgues, born at mount Marſan in Gaſcony, a ſkilful and intrepid ſeaman, an enemy to the Spaniards, from whom he had received perſonal injuries; paſſionately fond of his country, of hazardous expeditions, and of glory; ſold his eſtate, built ſome ſhips, and ſelecting ſome companions like himſelf, he ſat out to attack the murderers in Florida; he drove them from all their poſts with incredible valour and activity, beat them every where, and in order to retaliate on the enemy the ſame contemptuous inſult they had ſhewn, hung them up on trees with this inſcription: *not as Spaniards but as aſſaſſins.*

HAD the Spaniards been content with maſſacring the French, the latter would never have exerted ſuch cruel repriſals; but they were offended at the inſcription, and were guilty of an atrocious act to be revenged of the deriſion to which they had been expoſed. This is not the only inſtance in hiſtory which may lead one to imagine that it is not the thing that has made the word, but the word that has made the thing.

THE expedition of the brave de Gourgues was attended with no further conſequences. Whether he had not a ſtock of proviſions ſufficient to remain in Florida, or whether he foreſaw that he had no ſuccours to expect from

from France, or whether he thought that a friendſhip with the natives would laſt no longer than the means of purchaſing it, or that the Spaniards would attack him, he blew up the forts he had taken and returned home. He was received by all true patriots with the applauſe due to his merit, but neglected by the court, which was too deſpotic and ſuperſtitious not to ſtand in awe of virtue.

Since the year 1567, when this intrepid Gaſcoon evacuated Florida, the French neglected America. Bewildered in a chaos of unintelligible doctrines, they loſt their reaſon and their humanity. The mildeſt and moſt ſociable people upon earth became the moſt barbarous and ſanguinary. Scaffolds and piles were inſufficient: as they all appeared criminal to one another, they were all mutually each other's victims and executioners. After having condemned one another to eternal deſtruction, they aſſaſſinated each other at the inſtigation of their prieſts, who breathed nothing but the ſpirit of revenge and bloodſhed. At length the generous Henry ſoftened the minds of his ſubjects; his compaſſion and tenderneſs made them feel their own calamities; he reſtored their inclination to the ſweets of ſocial life; he prevailed upon them to lay down their arms, and they conſented to live happy under his parental laws.

In this ſtate of tranquillity and freedom, under a king who poſſeſſed the confidence of his people, they began to turn their thoughts to ſome uſeful projects. They undertook the eſtabliſhment of colonies abroad. Florida was the firſt country that naturally occurred to them. Excepting fort St. Auguſtine, formerly built by the Spaniards, at the diſtance of ten or twelve leagues from the French colony, the Europeans had not a ſingle ſettlement in all that vaſt and beautiful country. The inhabitants were not a for-

BOOK XV.

midable ſet of men; and the ſoil had every promiſing appearance of fertility. It was even reported to be rich in gold and ſilver mines, becauſe both thoſe metals had been found there; not conſidering that they came from ſome ſhips that had been caſt away upon the coaſts. The remembrance of the great actions performed by ſome Frenchmen, could not yet be erazed. Probably the French themſelves were rather afraid of irritating Spain, who was not yet diſpoſed to ſuffer the leaſt ſettlement to be made on the Gulph of Mexico, or even near it. The danger of provoking a nation which was ſo formidable in thoſe parts, determined them to keep at a diſtance as much as poſſible, and therefore they gave the preference to the more northern parts of America. The road was ready pointed out.

The French turn their views towards Canada.

FRANCIS I. had ſent out the Florentine Verazani in 1523, who only obſerved the iſland of Newfoundland, and ſome coaſts of the continent, but did not ſtop there.

ELEVEN years after, James Cartier, a ſkilful navigator of S. Malo, reſumed the projects of Verazani. The two nations, which had firſt landed in America, exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of following their example. *What!* ſaid Francis I. pleaſantly, *ſhall the kings of Spain and Portugal quietly divide all America between them, without ſuffering me to take a ſhare as their brother? I would fain ſee the article of Adam's will that bequeaths that vaſt inheritance to them.* Cartier proceeded further than his predeceſſor. He went up the river S. Lawrence; but after having bartered ſome European commodities with the ſavages for ſome of their furs, he re-embarked for France; where, an undertaking, which ſeemed to have been entered upon merely from imitation, was neglected from levity.

IT happened fortunately that the Normans, the Britons and the Biſcayans continued to carry on the cod fiſhery

fiſhery on the great ſand bank, along the coaſts of Newfoundland, and in all the adjacent latitudes. Theſe intrepid and experienced men ſerved as pilots to the adventurers who ſince the year 1598 attempted to ſettle colonies in thoſe deſert regions. None of thoſe firſt ſettlements proſpered, becauſe they were all under the direction of excluſive companies, which had neither abilities to chuſe the beſt ſituations, nor a ſufficient ſtock to wait for their returns. One monopoly followed another in a rapid ſucceſſion, but without gaining any advantage; it was purſued with greedineſs, without a plan, or any means to carry it into execution. All theſe different companies ſucceſſively ruined themſelves, and the ſtate was no gainer by their loſs. So many expeditions had coſt France more men, more money, and more ſhips, than other ſtates would have expended in the foundation of great empires. At laſt Samuel de Champlain went a conſiderable way up the river S. Lawrence, and in 1608 upon the borders of that river laid the foundation of Quebec, which became the center and capital of New France or Canada.

The unbounded ſpace that opened itſelf to the view of this colony, diſcovered only dark, thick and deep foreſts, whoſe height alone was a proof of their antiquity. Numberleſs large rivers came down from a conſiderable diſtance to water theſe immenſe regions. The intervals between them were full of lakes. Four of theſe meaſured from two to five hundred leagues round. Theſe ſort of inland ſeas communicated with each other; and their waters, after forming the great river S. Lawrence, conſiderably increaſed the bed of the ocean. Every thing in this rude part of the new world appeared grand and ſublime. Nature here diſplayed ſuch luxuriancy and majeſty as commanded veneration; and a thouſand wild graces, far ſuperior to the artificial beauties of our climates.

BOOK XV.

mates. Here the imagination of a painter or a poet would have been raiſed, animated, and filled with thoſe ideas which leave a laſting impreſſion on the mind. All theſe countries exhaled an air fit to prolong life. This temperature, which from the poſition of the climate muſt have been extremely pleaſant, loſt nothing of its wholeſomeneſs by the ſingular ſeverity of a long and intenſe winter. Thoſe who impute this ſingularity merely to the woods, ſprings, and mountains, with which this country abounds, have not taken every thing into conſideration. Others add to theſe cauſes of the cold, the elevation of the land, a pure aerial atmoſphere, ſeldom loaded with vapours, and the direction of the winds, which blow from north to ſouth over frozen ſeas.

Government, cuſtoms, virtues, vices and wars of the ſavages that inhabited Canada.

YET the inhabitants of this ſharp and bleak climate were but thinly clad. A cloak of buffalo or beaver ſkin, bound with a leathern girdle, and ſtockings made of roebuck ſkin, was the whole of their dreſs before their intercourſe with us. What they have added ſince gives great offence to their old men, who are ever lamenting the degeneracy of their manners.

FEW of theſe ſavages knew any thing of huſbandry; they only cultivated maize, and that they left entirely to the management of the women, as being beneath the dignity of independent men. Their bittereſt imprecation againſt an enemy was, that he might be reduced to till the ground. Sometimes they would condeſcend to go a fiſhing; but the employment of their life and their glory was hunting. For this purpoſe the whole nation went out as they did to war; every family, every hut, marched in ſearch of ſuſtenance. They prepared for the expedition by ſevere faſting, and never ſtirred out till they had implored the aſſiſtance of their god; they did not pray for ſtrength to kill the beaſts, but that they might

might be ſo fortunate as to meet with them. No perſons ſtaid at home except infirm and old men; all the reſt ſallied forth, the men to kill the game, and the women to dry and bring it home. They imagined that the winter was the fineſt ſeaſon of the year: the bear, the roe-buck, the ſtag and the elk could not then run with any degree of ſwiftneſs, through ſnow that was four or five feet deep on the ground. The ſavages, who were ſtopt neither by the buſhes, the torrents, the ponds, nor the rivers; and who could out-run moſt of the ſwifter animals, were ſeldom unſucceſsful in the chace. When they failed in their ſport, they lived upon acorns; and for want of theſe, they fed upon the ſap or inner ſkin that grows between the wood and the bark of the aſpen-tree and the birch. BOOK XV.

In the interval between their hunting parties, they made or mended their bows and arrows, the rackets for running upon the ſnow, and the canoes for croſſing the lakes and rivers. Theſe travelling implements, and a few earthen pots, were all the arts of theſe wandering nations. Thoſe among them who were collected in towns, added to theſe the labours requiſite for their ſedentary way of life, for the fencing of their huts, and ſecuring them from being attacked. The ſavages then gave themſelves up to a total inaction, in the moſt profound ſecurity. This people, content with their lot, and ſatisfied with what nature afforded them, were unacquainted with that reſtleſsneſs which ariſes from a ſenſe of our own weakneſs, that loathing of ourſelves and every thing about us, that neceſſity of flying from ſolitude, and eaſing ourſelves of the burthen of life by throwing it upon others.

Their ſtature in general was beautifully proportioned, but they had more agility than ſtrength, and were better calculated

BOOK XV.

calculated for ſwiftneſs than hard labour. Their features were regular, with that fierce countenance which they contracted in war and hunting. Their complexion was copper-colour; and they had it from nature, which tans all men who are conſtantly expoſed to the open air. This complexion was rendered ſtill more diſagreeable by the abſurd cuſtom that all ſavages have of painting their bodies and faces, either to diſtinguiſh each other at a diſtance, or to make themſelves more agreeable to their miſtreſſes, or more formidable in war. Beſides this varniſh, they rubbed themſelves with the fat of quadrupeds, or the oil of fiſh, which prevented the intolerable ſtings of gnats and inſects, that ſwarm in uncultivated countries. Theſe ointments were prepared and mixed up with certain red juices, which were ſuppoſed to be a deadly poiſon to the moſchettoes. To theſe ſeveral methods of anointing themſelves, which penetrate and diſcolour the ſkin, may be added the fumigations they made in their huts to keep off thoſe inſects, and the ſmoke of the fires they kept all the winter to warm themſelves, and to dry their meat. This was ſufficient to make them appear frightful to our people, though they undoubtedly imagined that it added to their beauty. Their ſight, ſmell, and hearing, and all their ſenſes were remarkably quick, and gave them early notice of their dangers and wants. Theſe were few, but their ſickneſſes were ſtill fewer. They hardly knew of any but what were occaſioned by too violent exerciſe, or eating too much after long abſtinence.

THEIR population was but moderate; and poſſibly this might be an advantage to them. Poliſhed nations muſt wiſh for an increaſe of population, becauſe as they are governed by ambitious rulers, the more inclined to war from not being perſonally engaged in it, they are under a neceſſity

neceſſity of fighting, either to invade or repulſe their neighbours; and becauſe they never have a ſufficient extent of territory to ſatisfy their enterprizing and expenſive way of living. But unconnected nations, who are always wandering, and guarded by the deſerts which divide them, who can fly when they are attacked, and whoſe poverty preſerves them from committing or ſuffering any injuſtice; ſuch ſavage nations had no occaſion to multiply. If they are but able to reſiſt the wild beaſts, occaſionally to drive away an inſignificant enemy, and mutually to aſſiſt each other, nothing more is required. If they were more populous, they would the ſooner have exhauſted the country they inhabit, and be forced to remove in ſearch of others, the only, or at leaſt, the greateſt misfortune attending their precarious way of life.

INDEPENDENT of theſe reflections, which, poſſibly, did not occur ſo ſtrongly to the ſavages of Canada, the nature of things was alone ſufficient to check their increaſe. Though they lived in a country abounding in game and fiſh, yet in ſome ſeaſons, and ſometimes for whole years, this ſingle reſource failed them: and famine then made a dreadful havock among people, who were at too great a diſtance to aſſiſt each other. Their wars or tranſient hoſtilities, the reſult of old animoſities, were very deſtructive. Men conſtantly accuſtomed to hunt their prey, to tear in pieces the animal they had overtaken, to hear the cries of death, and ſee the ſhedding of blood, muſt have been ſtill more unmerciful in war, if poſſible, than our own people. In a word, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid in favour of inuring children to hardſhips, and which miſled Peter the Great to ſuch a degree, that he ordered that none of his ſailors children ſhould drink any thing but ſea water; an experiment which proved fatal to all who tried it; it is certain, that a great many young

BOOK XV.

young ſavages periſhed through hunger, thirſt, cold and fatigue. Even thoſe whoſe conſtitution was ſtrong enough to bear the uſual exerciſes of thoſe climates, to ſwim over the broadeſt rivers, to go two hundred leagues on a hunting party, to live many days without ſleep, to ſubſiſt a conſiderable time without any food; ſuch men muſt have been exhauſted, and totally unfit for the purpoſes of generation. Few lived ſo long as our people, who lead a more uniform and quiet life.

THE auſterity of a Spartan education, the cuſtom of inuring children to hard labour and coarſe food, has been productive of dangerous miſtakes. Philoſophers, deſirous of alleviating the miſeries incident to mankind, have endeavoured to comfort the wretched who have been doomed to a life of hardſhips, by perſuading them that it was the moſt wholeſome and the beſt. The rich have eagerly adopted a ſyſtem, which hardened their hearts againſt the ſufferings of the poor, and excuſed them from the duties of humanity and compaſſion. But it is a miſtake to imagine that men who are employed in the more laborious arts of ſociety, ſhould live as long as thoſe who enjoy the fruit of their toil. Moderate labour ſtrengthens the human frame: exceſſive labour impairs it. A peaſant is an old man at ſixty, whilſt the inhabitants of towns, who live in affluence and with ſome degree of moderation, frequently attain to fourſcore and upwards. Even men of letters, whoſe employments are by no means conducive to health, afford many inſtances of longevity. Let not our modern productions propagate this falſe and cruel error, and encourage the rich to diſregard the groans of the poor, and transfer all their ſenſibility from their vaſſals to their dogs and horſes.

THREE original languages were ſpoken in Canada, the Algonquin, the Sioux, and the Huron. They were conſidered

ſidered as primitive languages, becauſe each of them contained many of thoſe imitative words, which convey an idea of things by the ſound. The dialects derived from them, were nearly as many as their towns. No abſtruſe terms were found in thoſe languages, becauſe the infant mind of the ſavages ſeldom goes beyond the preſent object and the preſent time; and as they have but few ideas, they ſeldom want to repreſent ſeveral under one and the ſame ſign. Beſides, the language of theſe people, generally ariſing from a quick, ſingle, and ſtrong ſenſation, excited by the great ſcenes of nature, contracted a lively and poetical caſt in their ſtrong and active imagination. The aſtoniſhment and admiration which their very ignorance excited, gave them a ſtrong propenſity to exaggeration. Their ſoul expreſſed what their eyes ſaw; their language painted, as it were, natural objects in ſtrong colouring, and their diſcourſes were quite pictureſque. For want of terms agreed upon to denote certain compound ideas, they made uſe of figurative expreſſions. What was ſtill wanting in ſpeech, they ſupplied by their geſtures, their attitudes, their bodily motions, and the modulations of the voice. The boldeſt metaphors were more familiar to them in common converſation, than they are even in epic poetry in the European languages. Their ſpeeches in public aſſemblies, eſpecially, were full of images, energy, and pathos. No Greek or Roman orator ever ſpoke, perhaps, with more ſtrength and ſublimity than one of their chiefs. Our people wanted to perſuade them to remove at a diſtance from their native ſoil. *We were born*, ſaid he, *on this ground, our fathers lie buried in it. Shall we ſay to the bones of our fathers, ariſe, and come with us into a foreign land?*

It may eaſily be imagined that ſuch nations could not be ſo gentle nor ſo weak as thoſe of South America. They ſhewed

BOOK XV.

ſhewed that they had that activity and energy which is always found in the northern nations, unleſs, like the Laplanders, they are of a different ſpecies from ourſelves. They had but juſt attained to that degree of knowledge and civilization, to which inſtinct alone may lead men in the ſpace of a few years; and it is among ſuch people that a philoſopher may ſtudy man in his natural ſtate.

THEY were divided into ſeveral ſmall nations, whoſe form of government was nearly ſimilar. Some had hereditary chiefs; others elected them; the greater part were only directed by their old men. They were mere aſſociations, formed by chance and always free, united, indeed, but bound by no tie. The will of individuals was not even overruled by the general one. All deciſions were conſidered only as matter of advice, which was not binding, or enforced by any penalty. If, in one of theſe ſingular republics, a man was condemned to death, it was rather a kind of war againſt a common enemy, than an act of juſtice exerciſed againſt a ſubject. Inſtead of coercive power; good manners, example, education, a reſpect for old men, and parental affection, maintained peace in theſe ſocieties, that had neither laws nor property. Reaſon, which had not been miſled by prejudice, or corrupted by paſſion, as it is with us, ſerved them inſtead of moral precepts and regulations of police. Harmony and ſecurity were maintained without the interpoſition of government. Authority never incroached upon that powerful inſtinct of nature, the love of independence, which enlightened by reaſon produces in us the love of equality.

HENCE ariſes that regard which the ſavages have for each other. They laviſh their expreſſions of eſteem, and expect the ſame in return. They are obliging, but reſerved; they weigh their words, and liſten with great at-

attention. Their gravity, which looks like a kind of melancholy, is particularly obſervable in their national aſſemblies. Every one ſpeaks in his turn, according to his age, his experience and his ſervices. No one is ever interrupted, either by indecent reflections or ill-timed applauſe. Their public affairs are managed with ſuch diſintereſtedneſs as is unknown in our governments, where the welfare of the ſtate is hardly ever promoted but from ſelfiſh views or party ſpirit. It is no uncommon thing to hear one of theſe ſavage orators, when his ſpeech has met with univerſal applauſe, telling thoſe who agreed to his opinion, that another man is more deſerving of their confidence. BOOK XV.

THIS mutual reſpect amongſt the inhabitants of the ſame place prevails between the ſeveral nations, when they are not in actual war. The deputies are received and treated with that friendſhip that is due to men who come to treat of peace and alliance. Wandering nations, who have not the leaſt notion of a domain, never negociate for a project of conqueſt, or for any intereſts relative to dominion. Even thoſe who have a ſettled home, never quarrel with others for coming to live in their diſtrict, provided they do not moleſt them. The earth, ſay they, is made for all men; no one muſt poſſeſs the ſhare of two. All the politics, therefore, of the ſavages conſiſt in forming leagues againſt an enemy who is too numerous or too ſtrong, and in ſuſpending hoſtilities that become too deſtructive. When they are agreed upon a truce or league of amity, it is ratified by mutually exchanging a belt or ſtring of beads, which are a kind of ſnail ſhells. The white ones are very common; but the purple ones, which are ſcarcer, and the black, which are ſtill more ſo, are much eſteemed. They work them into a cilindrical form, bore them, and then make them up into branches or necklaces. The branches

BOOK XV.

are about a ſpot long, and the beads are ſtrung upon them in ſtraight rows. The necklaces are broad belts, on which the beads are placed in rows, and neatly tacked down with little ſlips of leather. The meaſure, weight and colour of theſe ſhells, determine the importance of the buſineſs. They ſerve as jewels, as records, and as annals. They are the bond of union between nations and individuals. They are the ſacred and inviolable pledge which gives a ſanction to words, to promiſes, and to treaties. The chiefs of towns are the keepers of theſe records. They know their meaning; they interpret them; and by means of theſe ſigns, they tranſmit the hiſtory of the country to their young people.

As the ſavages poſſeſs no riches, they are of a benevolent turn. A ſtriking inſtance of this appears in the care they take of their orphans, widows and infirm people. They liberally ſhare their ſcanty proviſion with thoſe whoſe crops have failed, or who have been unſucceſsful in hunting or fiſhing. Their tables and their huts are open night and day to ſtrangers and travellers. This generous hoſpitality, which makes the advantages of a private man a public bleſſing, is chiefly conſpicuous in their entertainments. A ſavage claims reſpect, not ſo much from what he poſſeſſes as from what he gives away. Accordingly the whole proviſion of a ſix months chace is often expended in one day, and he who treats enjoys more pleaſure than his gueſts.

None of the writers who have deſcribed the manners of the ſavages have reckoned benevolence amongſt their virtues. But this may be owing to prejudice, which has made them confound antipathy and reſentment with natural temper. Theſe people neither love nor eſteem the Europeans, nor are they very kind to them. The inequality of conditions, which we think ſo neceſſary for the

the well-being of ſociety, is in their opinion the greateſt folly. They are ſhocked to ſee that amongſt us, one man has more property than ſeveral others put together, and that this firſt injuſtice is productive of a ſecond; which is, that the man who has moſt riches is on that account the moſt reſpected. But what appears to them a meanneſs below that of the brute creation is, that men who are equal by nature ſhould ſtoop to depend upon the will or the caprice of another. The reſpect we ſhew to titles, dignities, and eſpecially to hereditary nobility, they call an inſult, an injury to human nature. Whoever knows how to guide a canoe, to beat an enemy, to build a hut, to live upon little, to go a hundred leagues in the woods, with no other guide than the wind and ſun, or any proviſion but a bow and arrows; he is a man, and what more can be expected of him? That reſtleſs diſpoſition which prompts us to croſs ſo many ſeas, to ſeek a fortune that flies before us, appears to them rather the effect of poverty than of induſtry. They laugh at our arts, our manners, and all thoſe cuſtoms which inſpire us with vanity, in proportion as they remove us from the ſtate of nature. Their frankneſs and honeſty is rouzed to indignation at the tricks and cunning which have been practiſed in our dealings with them. A multitude of other motives, ſome founded on prejudice, but moſt on reaſon, have rendered the Europeans odious to the Indians. They have uſed repriſals, and are become harſh and cruel in their dealings with us. That averſion and contempt they have conceived for our morals, has always made them ſhun our ſociety. We have never been able to reconcile any of them to the indulgences of our way of life, whereas we have ſeen ſome Europeans forego all the conveniences of civil life, go into the foreſts, and take up the bow and the club of the ſavage. An innate ſpirit of

BOOK XV.

benevolence, however, ſometimes brings them back to us. At the beginning of the winter a French veſſel was wrecked upon the rocks of Anticoſti. Such of the ſailors as had eſcaped in this deſert and ſavage iſland the rigour of the ſeaſon and the dangers of famine, conſtructed from the remains of their ſhip, a bark, which, in the ſpring ſeaſon, conveyed them to the continent. They were obſerved in a languid and expiring ſtate by a canoe full of ſavages. *Brethren*, ſaid the chief of this ſolitary family, addreſſing himſelf affectionately to him, *the wretched are entitled to our pity and our aſſiſtance. We are men, and the misfortunes incident to the human race affect us as much in others as in ourſelves.* Theſe humane expreſſions were accompanied with every kind of help theſe generous ſavages had it in their power to beſtow.

One thing was wanting to complete the happineſs of the free Americans; they were not paſſionately fond of their wives. Nature indeed has beſtowed on their women a good ſhape, beautiful eyes, pleaſing features, and long black hair. All theſe accompliſhments are no longer regarded than whilſt they are in a ſtate of independence. They no ſooner ſubmit to the matrimonial yoke, but that even their huſband, who is the only man they love, grows inſenſible to thoſe charms they are ſo liberal of before marriage. Indeed, they are doomed to a way of life that is not favourable to beauty. Their features alter, and they loſe at once the deſire and the power of pleaſing. They are laborious, indefatigable and active. They dig the ground, ſow, and reap; whilſt their huſbands, who diſdain to ſtoop to the drudgeries of huſbandry, amuſe themſelves with hunting, fiſhing, ſhooting with a bow, and exerciſing the dominion of man over the earth.

Many of theſe nations allow a plurality of wives, and even thoſe that do not practiſe polygamy, admit of divorce.

vorce. The very idea of an indiſſoluble tie, never once entered the thoughts of theſe people who are free till death. When thoſe who are married diſagree, they part by conſent, and divide their children between them. Nothing appears to them more repugnant to nature and reaſon than the contrary ſyſtem which prevails among chriſtians. *The great ſpirit*, ſay they, *hath created us all to be happy; and we ſhould offend him, were we to live in a perpetual ſtate of conſtraint and uneaſineſs.* This ſyſtem agrees with what one of the Miamis ſaid to one of our miſſionaries. *My wife and I were continually at variance. My neighbour diſagreed equally with his. We have changed wives, and are all ſatisfied.*

It has been generally ſaid that the ſavages are not much addicted to the pleaſures of love. But if they are not ſo fond of women as civilized people are, it is not, perhaps, for want of powers or inclination to population. But the firſt wants of nature may, perhaps, check in them the claims of the ſecond. Their ſtrength is almoſt all exhauſted in procuring their food. Hunting and other expeditions leave them neither the opportunity nor the leiſure of attending to population: no wandering nation can ever be populous. What muſt become of women obliged to follow their huſbands to the diſtance of a hundred leagues, with children at their breaſt or in their arms? What would become of the children themſelves if deprived of the milk that muſt neceſſarily dry up in the courſe of the journey? Hunting then prevents the increaſe of mankind, and even deſtroys it. A ſavage warrior reſiſts the ſeducing arts of young women who ſtrive to allure him. When nature compels this tender ſex to make the firſt advances, and to purſue the men that fly them, thoſe who are leſs inflamed with military ardour, than with the charms of beauty, yield to the temptation.

BOOK XV.

But the true warriors who have been early taught that an intercourſe with women enervates ſtrength and courage, do not give way. Canada, therefore, is not a deſert from natural defects, but from the track of life which its inhabitants purſue. Though they are as fit for procreation as our northern people, all their ſtrength is employed for their own preſervation. Hunger does not allow them to attend to the ſofter paſſions. If the people of the ſouth ſacrifice every thing to this deſire, it is becauſe the firſt is eaſily ſatisfied. In a country where nature is very prolific, and man conſumes but little, the overplus of his ſtrength is turned wholly to population, which is likewiſe aſſiſted by the warmth of the climate. In a climate where men conſume more than nature affords them with eaſe; the time and the faculties of the human ſpecies are exhauſted in fatigues that are detrimental to population.

But a further proof that the ſavages are not leſs inclined to women than we are, is, that they are much fonder of their children. Their mothers ſuckle them till they are four or five years old, and ſometimes to ſix or ſeven. From their earlieſt infancy, their parents reſpect their natural independence, and never beat or chide them, becauſe they will not check that free and martial ſpirit, which is one day to conſtitute their principal character. They even forbear to make uſe of ſtrong arguments to perſuade them, becauſe this would be in ſome meaſure a reſtraint laid upon their free will. As they are taught nothing but what they want to know, they are the happieſt children upon earth. If they die, the parents lament them with deep regret. The father and mother will ſometimes go ſix months after, and weep over the grave of their child, and the mother will ſprinkle it with her own milk.

The

BOOK XV.

THE ties of friendſhip amongſt the ſavages are almoſt as ſtrong as thoſe of nature, and more laſting. Theſe are never broken by that variety of claſhing intereſts, which, in our ſocieties, weaken even the tendereſt and moſt ſacred connections. There the heart of one man chuſes another, in which he depoſits his inmoſt thoughts, his ſentiments, his projects, his ſorrows and his joys. Every thing becomes common between two friends. Their union is for life; they fight ſide by ſide; and if one falls, the other conſtantly dies upon his friend's body. If they are ſeparated in ſome imminent danger, each calls upon the name of his friend; each invokes his ſpirit, this is his tutelar deity.

THE ſavages ſhew a degree of penetration and ſagacity, which aſtoniſhes every one who has not obſerved how much our arts and methods of life contribute to render our minds ſlow and inactive: becauſe we are ſeldom put to the trouble of thinking, and have only to learn what is already diſcovered. If they have brought nothing to perfection any more than the moſt ſagacious animals, it is, probably, becauſe theſe people, having no ideas but ſuch as relate to their preſent wants, the equality that ſubſiſts between them, lays every individual under a neceſſity of thinking for himſelf, and of ſpending his whole life in acquiring this occaſional learning: hence it may be reaſonably inferred, that the ſum total of ideas in a ſociety of ſavages is no more than the ſum of ideas in each individual.

INSTEAD of abſtruſe meditations, the ſavages delight in ſongs. They are ſaid to have no variety in their ſinging; but we are uncertain whether thoſe that have heard them had an ear properly adapted to their muſic. When we firſt hear a foreign language, the words ſeem all the ſame, we think it is all pronounced with the ſame tone,

BOOK XV.

without any modulation or proſody. It is only by continued habit that we learn to diſtinguiſh the words and ſyllables, and to perceive that ſome are dull, and others ſharp, ſome long and others ſhort. The ſame may be equally true with regard to the melody of a people, whoſe ſong muſt bear ſome analogy to their ſpeech.

THEIR dances are generally an image of war, and they uſually dance completely armed. They are ſo exact, quick, and dreadful, that an European, when firſt he ſees them, cannot help being ſtruck with horror. He imagines that the ground will in a moment be covered with blood and ſcattered limbs, and that none of the dancers or the ſpectators will remain. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that in the firſt ages of the world, and amongſt ſavage nations, dancing ſhould be an imitative art, and that it ſhould have loſt that characteriſtic in civilized countries, where it ſeems to be reduced to a ſet of ſteps without meaning. But it is with dances as with languages, they grow abſtracted like the ideas they are intended to repreſent. The ſigns of them are more allegorical, as the minds of the people become more refined. In the ſame manner as a ſingle word, in a learned language, expreſſes ſeveral ideas; ſo, in an allegorical dance, a ſingle ſtep, a ſingle attitude, is ſufficient to excite a variety of ſenſations. It is owing to want of imagination either in the dancers, or the ſpectators, if a figured dance is not, or does not appear to be expreſſive. Beſides, the ſavages can exhibit none but ſtrong paſſions and fierce manners, and theſe muſt be repreſented by more ſignificant images in their dances, which are the language of geſture, the firſt and ſimpleſt of all languages. Nations living in a ſtate of civil ſociety and in peace, have only the gentler paſſions to repreſent, which are beſt expreſſed by delicate images, fit to convey refined ideas. It might not, however, be improper

proper ſometimes to bring back dancing to its firſt origin, to exhibit the old ſimplicity of manners, to revive the firſt ſenſations of nature by motions which repreſent them, and to depart from the antiquated and ſcientific mode of the Greeks and Romans, and adopt the lively and ſignificant images of the rude Canadians.

THESE ſavages, always wholly taken up with the preſent paſſion, are extravagantly fond of gaming, as is uſual with all idle people, and eſpecially of games of chance. Theſe men, who are commonly ſo ſedate, ſo moderate, ſo diſintereſted, and have ſuch a command of themſelves, are outrageous, greedy and turbulent at play; they loſe their peace, their ſenſes, and all they are worth. Deſtitute of almoſt every thing, coveting all they ſee, and when they like it, eager to have and enjoy it, they give themſelves up entirely to the quickeſt and eaſieſt means of acquiring it. This is a conſequence of their manners, as well as of their character. The ſight of preſent happineſs always blinds them as to the evils that may enſue. Their forecaſt does not even reach from day to night. They are alternately ſilly children and terrible men. All depends with them on the preſent moment.

GAMING alone would incline them to ſuperſtition, even if they had not a natural propenſity to that bane of the happineſs of mankind. But as they have few phyſicians or quacks to have recourſe to, they ſuffer leſs from this malady than more poliſhed nations, and are more open to the voice of reaſon. The Iroquois have a confuſed notion of a firſt Being who governs the world. They never grieve at the evil which this being permits. When ſome miſchance befalls them, they ſay: *the man above would have it ſo*; and there is, perhaps, more philoſophy in this ſubmiſſion than in all the reaſonings and declamations of our philoſophers. Moſt other ſavage nations worſhip

thoſe

BOOK XV.

those two first principles, which occur to the human mind as soon as it has acquired any conception of invisible substances. Sometimes they worship a river, a forest, the sun or the moon; in short, any beings in which they have observed a certain power and motion; because wherever they see motion which they cannot account for, there they suppose a soul.

They seem to have some notion of a future state; but as they have no principles of morality, they do not think that the next life is a state of reward for virtue and punishment for vice. Their opinion of it consists in believing that the indefatigable huntsman, and the fearless and merciless warrior, the man who has slain or burnt many enemies, and made his own town victorious, will after death go into a country, where he will find plenty of all kinds of animals to assuage his hunger; whereas those who are grown old in indolence and without glory, will be for ever banished into a barren land, where they will be eternally tormented with famine and sickness. Their tenets are suited to their manners and their wants. They believe in such pleasures and such sufferings as they are acquainted with. They have more hopes than fears, and are happy, even in their delusions. Yet they are often tormented with dreams.

Ignorance is prone to look for something mysterious in dreams, and to ascribe them to the agency of some powerful being, who takes the opportunity when our faculties are suspended and lulled asleep, of watching over us in the absence of our senses. It is as it were a soul, distinct from our own, that glides into us, to inform us of what is to come, when we cannot yet see it; whereas futurity is always present to that Being who created it.

In

In the bleak climates of Canada, where the people live by hunting, their nerves are apt to be overſtrained by the inclemency of the weather, and by fatigue and long abſtinence. When theſe ſavages have melancholy and troubleſome dreams; they fancy they are ſurrounded with enemies; they ſee their town ſurpriſed, and ſwimming in blood; they receive injuries and wounds; their wives, their children, their friends are carried off. When they awake, they take theſe viſions for a warning from the gods, and that fear which firſt inſpired them with this notion, makes them look more fierce and gloomy. The old women, who are uſeleſs in the world, dream for the ſafety of the common wealth. Some weak old men too, dream on public affairs, in which they have no ſhare or influence. Young men who are unfit for war, or laborious exerciſes, will dream too, that they may bear ſome part in the adminiſtration of the clan. In vain hath it been attempted during two centuries to diſpel illuſions ſo deeply rooted. *You chriſtians*, have always anſwered the ſavages, *you laugh at the faith we have in dreams, and yet require us to believe things infinitely more improbable.* Thus we ſee in theſe untutored nations the ſeeds of prieſtcraft with all its train of evils.

Were it not for theſe melancholy fits and dreams, there would ſcarce ever be any contentions amongſt them. Europeans who have lived long in thoſe countries, aſſure us they never ſaw an Indian in a paſſion. Without ſuperſtition, there would be as few national as private quarrels.

Private differences are moſt commonly adjuſted by the bulk of the people. The reſpect ſhewn by the nation to the aggrieved party, ſooths his ſelf-love, and diſpoſes him to peace. It is more difficult to prevent quarrels, or put an end to hoſtilities, between two nations.

War

BOOK XV.

War often takes its riſe from hunting. When two companies, which were ſeparated by a foreſt a hundred leagues in extent, happen to meet, and to interfere with each other's ſport, they ſoon quarrel, and turn thoſe weapons againſt one another, which were intended for the deſtruction of bears. This ſlight ſkirmiſh is a ſeed of eternal diſcord. The vanquiſhed party ſwears implacable vengeance againſt the conquerors, a national hatred which will live in their proſperity, and revive out of their aſhes. Theſe quarrels, however, are ſometimes ſtifled in the wounds of both parties, when on each ſide there happen to be only ſome fiery youths, who are deſirous of trying their ſkill, and whoſe impatience has hurried them too far. But the rage of whole nations is not eaſily kindled.

When there is a cauſe for war, it is not left to the judgment and deciſion of one man. The nation meets, and the chief ſpeaks. He ſtates the grievances. The matter is conſidered, the dangers and the conſequences of a rupture are carefully balanced. The ſpeakers enter directly on the ſubject, without ſtopping, without digreſſion, or miſtaking the caſe. The ſeveral intereſts are diſcuſſed with a ſtrength of reaſoning and eloquence that ariſes from the evidence and ſimplicity of the objects; and even with an impartiality that is leſs biaſſed by their ſtrong paſſions, than it is with us by a complication of ideas. If they unanimouſly decide for war by an univerſal ſhout, the allies are invited to join them, which they ſeldom refuſe, as they always have ſome injury to revenge, or ſome dead to replace by priſoners.

They next proceed to the election of a chief, or captain of the expedition; and great ſtreſs is laid upon phyſiognomy. This might be a very fallacious and even ridiculous way of judging of men, where they have been trained up

up from their infancy to diſguiſe their real ſentiments, and where, by a conſtant practice of diſſimulation and factitious paſſions, the countenance is no longer expreſſive of the mind. But a ſavage, who is ſolely guided by nature, and is acquainted with its workings, is ſeldom miſtaken in the judgment he forms at firſt ſight. The chief requiſite, next to a warlike aſpect, is a ſtrong voice; becauſe in armies that march without drums or clarions, the better to ſurprize the enemy, nothing is ſo proper to ſound an alarm, or to give the ſignal for the onſet, as the terrible voice of a chief who ſhouts and ſtrikes at the ſame time. But the beſt recommendations for a general, are his exploits. Every one is at liberty to boaſt of his victories, in order to march foremoſt to meet danger; to tell what he has done, in order to ſhew what he will do; and the ſavages think ſelf-commendation not unbecoming a hero who can ſhew his ſcars.

He that is to head the reſt in the road to victory, never fails to harangue them. "Comrades, ſays he, the bones of "our brethern are ſtill uncovered. They cry out againſt "us; we muſt ſatisfy them. Young men, to arms; fill "your quivers; paint yourſelves with gloomy colours "that may ſtrike terror. Let the woods ring with our "warlike ſongs. Let us ſooth the dead with the ſhouts "of vengeance. Let us go and bathe in the blood of "our enemies, take priſoners, and fight as long as water "ſhall flow in the rivers, and as long as the ſun and "moon ſhall remain fixed in the firmament."

At theſe words, the brave men who long to encounter the hazards of war, go to the chief and ſay, *I will riſque with thee. So you ſhall*, replies the chief, *we will riſque together*. But as no one has been ſollicited, leſt a falſe point of honour ſhould induce cowards to march, a man muſt undergo many trials before he can be admitted as a ſoldier.

BOOK XV.

ſoldier. If a young man, who has never yet faced the enemy, ſhould betray the leaſt impatience, when, after long abſtinence, he is expoſed to the ſcorching heat of the ſun, the intenſe froſts of the night, or the bloody ſtings of inſects, he would be declared incapable and unworthy to bear arms. Are our militias and armies formed in this manner? On the contrary, what a mournful and ominous ceremony is ours! Men who have not been able te ſave themſelves by flight, from being preſſed into the ſervice, or could not procure an exemption by purchaſe, or by claiming ſome privilege, drag themſelves heavily along, with downcaſt looks, and pale dejected faces, before a delegate, whoſe functions are odious to the people, and whoſe honeſty is doubtful. The afflicted and trembling parents ſeem to be following their ſon to the grave. A black ſcroll, iſſuing from a fatal urn, points out the victims which the prince devotes to war. A diſtracted mother in vain preſſes her ſon to her boſom, and ſtrives to detain him; he is torn from her arms, and ſhe bids him farewel for ever, curſing the day of her marriage and that of her delivery. It is not ſurely thus that good ſoldiers are to be formed. It is not in this mournful way, and with ſuch conſternation that the ſavages meet victory. They march out in midſt of feſtivity, ſinging and dancing. The young married women, follow their huſbands for a day or two, but without ſhewing any ſigns of grief or ſorrow. Theſe women, who never once cry out in the pangs of child-birth, would ſcorn to ſoften the minds of the defenders and avengers of their country, by their tears, or even by their endearments.

THEIR weapons are a kind of ſpear armed with ſharp bones, and a ſmall club of very hard wood, with one cutting edge. Inſtead of this laſt, ſince their acquaintance with the Europeans, they make uſe of a hatchet, which

which they handle with amazing dexterity. Moſt of them have no inſtrument of defence but if they chance to attack the pales that ſurround a town, they cover their body with a thin plank. Some uſed to wear a kind of cuiraſs made with plaited reeds, but they left it off, when they ſaw it was not proof againſt fire arms.

THE army is followed by dreamers, who aſſume the name of jugglers, and are too often ſuffered to determine the military operations. They march without any colours. All the warriors, who fight almoſt naked to be the more alert, daub their bodies with coals, to appear more terrible, or elſe with mould, to conceal themſelves at a diſtance, and the better to ſurprize the enemy. Notwithſtanding their natural intrepidity, and averſion for all diſguiſe, their wars degenerate into artifice. Theſe deceitful arts common to all nations, whether ſavage or civilized, are become neceſſary to the petty nations of Canada. They would have totally deſtroyed one another, had they not made the glory of their chiefs to conſiſt in bringing home all their companions, rather than in ſhedding the blood of their foes. Honour, therefore, is to be gained by falling upon the enemy before he is aware. Theſe people, whoſe ſenſes have never been impaired, are extremely quick ſcented, and can diſcover the places where men have trod. By the keenneſs of their ſight or ſmell, it is ſaid they can trace footſteps upon the ſhorteſt graſs, upon the dry ground, and even upon ſtone; and from the nature of the footſteps, can find out what nation they belong to. Perhaps, they may diſcover this by the leaves with which the foreſts always ſtrew the ground.

WHEN they are ſo fortunate as to ſurprize the enemy, they diſcharge a whole volley of arrows, and fall upon him with their clubs or hatchets in their hands. If he is upon his guard, or too well intrenched, they retreat if they

BOOK XV.

they can; if not, they muſt fight till they conquer or die. The victorious party diſpatch the wounded men whom they could not carry away, ſcalp the dead, and take ſome priſoners.

THE conqueror leaves his hatchet upon the field of battle, having previouſly engraved upon it the mark of his nation, that of his family, and eſpecially his own picture; that is to ſay, an oval with the figures marked on his own face. Others paint all theſe enſigns of honour, or rather trophies of victory, on the ſtump of a tree, or on a piece of the bark, with coal mixed up with ſeveral colours. To this they add the hiſtory, not only of the battle, but of the whole campaign in hieroglyphic characters. Immediately after the general's picture, are thoſe of his ſoldiers, marked by ſo many lines; the number of priſoners pointed out by ſo many little images, and that of the dead by ſo many human figures without heads. Such are the expreſſive and technical ſigns which, in all original ſocieties, have preceded the art of writing and printing, and the voluminous libraries which fill the palaces of the rich and idle, and incumber the heads of the learned.

THE hiſtory of an Indian war is but a ſhort one; they make haſte to ſet it down, for fear the enemy ſhould turn back and fall upon them. The conqueror glories in a precipitate retreat, and never ſtops till he reaches his own territory and his own town. There he is received with the warmeſt tranſports of joy, and finds his reward in the applauſes of his countrymen. They then conſider how they ſhall diſpoſe of the priſoners, who are the only fruit of their victory.

THE moſt fortunate of the captives are thoſe who are choſen to replace the warriors who fell in the late action, or in former battles. This adoption has been wiſely contrived,

trived, to perpetuate nations which would soon be destroyed by frequent wars. The prisoners being once incorporated into a family, become cousins, uncles, fathers, brothers, husbands; in short, they succeed to any degree of consanguinity, in which the deceased stood, whose place they supply, and these affectionate titles convey all their rights to them, at the same time that they bind them to all their engagements. Far from declining the attachments which are due to the family that has adopted them, they will not refuse even to take up arms against their own countrymen. Yet this is surely a strange inversion of the ties of nature. They must be very weak-minded men, thus to shift the object of their regard with the vicissitudes of fortune. The truth is that war seems to cancel all the bonds of nature, and to confine a man's feelings to himself alone. Hence arises that union between friends observable among the savages, stronger than those that subsist between relations. Those who are to fight and die together, are more firmly attached than those who are born together, or under the same roof. When war or death has dissolved that kindred which is cemented by nature, or has been formed by choice, the same fate which loads the savage with chains, gives him new relations and friends. Custom and common consent have introduced this singular law, which undoubtedly sprang from necessity.

But it sometimes happens that a prisoner refuses this adoption; sometimes that he is excluded from it. A tall handsome prisoner had lost several of his fingers in battle. This circumstance was not noticed at first. *Friend*, said the widow to whom he was allotted, *we had chosen thee to live with us; but in the condition I see thee, unable to fight and to defend us, of what use is life to thee? Death is certainly preferable. I believe it is*, answered the savage. *Well then*, replied the woman, *this evening thou shalt be tied to the*

BOOK XV.

ſtake. For thy own glory, and for the honour of our family who have adopted thee, remember to behave as a man of courage. He promiſed he would, and kept his word. For three days, he endured the moſt cruel torments with a conſtancy and chearfulneſs, that ſet them all at defiance. His new family never forſook him, but encouraged him by their applauſe, and ſupplied him with drink and tobacco in the midſt of his ſufferings. What a mixture of virtue and ferocity: every thing is great in theſe people who are not enſlaved. This is the ſublime of nature in all its horrors and its beauties.

THE captives whom none chuſe to adopt, are ſoon condemned to death. The victims are prepared for it by every thing that may tend to inſpire them with a regret for life. The beſt fare, the kindeſt uſage, the moſt endearing names are laviſhed upon them. They are even ſometimes indulged with women to the very moment of their ſentence. Is this compaſſion, or is it a refinement of barbarity? At laſt a herald comes, and acquaints the wretch that the pile is ready. *Brother*, ſays he, *be patient, thou art going to be burnt. Very well brother*, ſays the priſoner, *I thank thee.*

THESE words are received with general applauſe; but the women are the moſt eager in the common joy. She to whom the priſoner is delivered up, inſtantly invokes the ſhade of a father, a huſband, a ſon, the deareſt friend whoſe death is ſtill unrevenged. *Draw near*, ſhe cries, *I am preparing a feaſt for thee. Come and drink large draughts of the broth I intend to give thee. This warrior is going to be put into the cauldron. They will apply hot hatchets all over his body: They will pull off his hair: They will drink out of his ſkull: Thou ſhalt be avenged and ſatisfied.*

This furious woman then ruſhes upon her victim who is tied to a poſt near the fiery pile, and by ſtriking or maim-

maiming him, ſhe gives the ſignal for the intended cru- BOOK XV.
elties. There is not a woman, or a child in the clan whom this ſight has brought together, who does not take a part in the torturing and ſlaying of the miſerable captive. Some pierce his fleſh with firebrands; others cut it in ſlices; ſome tear off his nails; whilſt others cut off his fingers, roaſt them, and devour them before his face. Nothing ſtops his executioners but the fear of haſtening his end: they ſtudy to prolong his ſufferings for whole days, and ſometimes they make him linger for a whole week.

In the midſt of theſe torments, the hero with great compoſure ſings his death ſong; inſults his enemies, upbraids them for their weakneſs, tells them they know not how to revenge the death of their relations whom he has ſlain, and excites them by outrages or intreaties to a further exertion of their cruelties. It is a conflict between the victim and his tormentors, a dreadful challenge between conſtancy in ſuffering, and obſtinacy in torturing. But the ſenſe of glory predominates. Whether this intoxication of enthuſiaſm ſuſpends or wholly benumbs all ſenſe of pain; or whether cuſtom and education alone produce theſe prodigies of heroiſm, certain it is, that the patient dies without ever ſhedding a tear or heaving a ſigh.

How ſhall we account for this inſenſibilty? Is it owing to the climate, or to their manner of life? No doubt colder blood, thicker humors, a conſtitution rendered more phlegmatic by the dampneſs of the air and the ground, may blunt the irritability of the nervous ſyſtem in Canada. Men who are conſtantly expoſed to all the inclemencies of the weather, the fatigues of hunting and the perils of war, contract ſuch a rigidity of the fibres, ſuch a habit of ſuffering, as makes them inſenſible to pain. It is ſaid the ſavages are ſcarce ever convulſed in the agonies of death, whether they die of ſickneſs or of a wound.

BOOK XV.

As they have no apprehenſions, either of the approaches or the conſequences of death, their imagination does not ſuggeſt that artificial ſenſibility, which mere nature will inſpire. Their whole life both natural and moral, is calculated to inſpire them with a contempt for death, which we ſo much dread, and to enable them to overcome the ſenſe of pain which is irritated by our indulgencies.

But what is ſtill more aſtoniſhing in the Indians than their intrepidity in torments, is the ferociouſneſs of their revenge. It is dreadful to think that man may become the moſt cruel of all animals. In general, revenge is not atrocious either among nations, or between individuals who are governed by good laws; becauſe thoſe very laws which protect the ſubjects, keep them from offending. Vengeance is not a very quick ſentiment in the wars of great nations, becauſe they have but little to fear from their enemies. But in thoſe petty nations, where every individual conſtitutes a great part of the ſtate himſelf, where the carrying off of one man endangers the whole community, war can be nothing elſe than the ſpirit of revenge that actuates the whole ſtate: amongſt independent men, who have that ſelf eſteem which can never be felt by men who are under ſubjection; amongſt ſavages whoſe affections are very lively and confined, injuries muſt neceſſarily be reſented to the greateſt degree, becauſe they affect the perſon in the moſt ſenſible manner: the aſſaſſination of a friend, of a ſon, of a brother, or of a fellow-citizen, cannot but be avenged to the laſt drop of the murderer's blood. Theſe ever beloved ſhades are continually calling out for vengeance from their graves. They wander about in the foreſts, amidſt the mournful accents of the birds of night; they appear in the phoſphorus and in the lightening; and ſuperſtition ſpeaks for them in the afflicted or incenſed hearts of their friends.

When

When we conſider the hatred which the hordes of theſe ſavages bear to each other; the hardſhips they undergo; the ſcarcity they are often expoſed to; the frequency of their wars; the ſcantineſs of their population; the numberleſs ſnares we lay for them; we cannot but foreſee that in leſs than three centuries, the whole race will be extinct. What will poſterity then think of this ſpecies of men, who will exiſt no more but in the accounts of travellers? Will not the times of ſavages appear to them in the ſame light as the fabulous times of antiquity do to us? They will ſpeak of them, as we do of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. How many contradictions ſhall we not diſcover in their cuſtoms and manners? Will not ſuch of our writings as may then have eſcaped the deſtructive hand of time, paſs for romantic inventions, like thoſe which Plato has left us concerning the ancient Atlantica?

The French embroil themſelves improperly in the wars of the ſavages.

The character of the North Americans ſuch as we have deſcribed it, had ſingularly diſplayed itſelf in the war between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. Theſe two nations, the largeſt in Canada, had formed a kind of confederacy. The former, who tilled the ground, imparted their productions to their allies, who in return ſhared with them the produce of their chace. Connected as they both were by their reciprocal wants, they mutually defended each other. During the ſeaſon when the ſnow interrupted all the labours of the field, they lived together. The Algonquins went out a hunting, and the Iroquois ſtaid at home to ſkin the beaſts, cure the fleſh and dreſs the hides.

It happened one year that a party of Algonquins, who were not very ſkilful or well verſed in the chace, proved unſucceſsful. The Iroquois who attended them, deſired leave to try whether they ſhould be more fortunate. This com-

BOOK XV.

complaiſance, which had ſometimes been ſhewn them, was denied. Irritated at this unſeaſonable refuſal, they ſtole away in the night, and brought home a plentiful capture. The Algonquins were greatly mortified, and to blot out the very remembrance of their diſgrace, they waited till the Iroquois huntſmen were aſleep, and ſlew them all. This maſſacre occaſioned a great alarm. The offended nation demanded juſtice, which was haughtily refuſed, and they were given to underſtand that they muſt not even expect the ſmalleſt ſatisfaction.

The Iroquois, enraged at this contemptuous treatment, ſwore to be revenged, or periſh in the attempt. But not being powerful enough to venture an attack upon the proud offenders, they removed to a greater diſtance in order to try their ſtrength, and increaſe themſelves in the art of war againſt ſome leſs formidable nations. As ſoon as they had learnt to come on like foxes, to attack like lions, and to fly like birds, as they expreſs themſelves, they were no longer afraid to encounter the Algonquins; and, therefore, carried on a war againſt them with a degree of ferociouſneſs proportionable to their reſentment.

It was juſt at the time when theſe animoſities were kindled throughout Canada, that the French made their firſt appearance there. The Montagnez, who inhabited the lower parts of the river St. Lawrence; the Algonquins, who lived along the banks of that river, from Quebec to Montreal; the Hurons, who were diſperſed about the lake that bears that name; and ſome leſs conſiderable nations who wandered about in the intermediate ſpaces, were all of them inclined to favour the ſettlement of the ſtrangers. Theſe ſeveral nations, combined againſt the Iroquois, and unable to withſtand them, imagined that they might find in their new gueſts an un-

CX.

expected resource, from which they promised themselves infallible success. Judging of the French as if they had known them, they flattered themselves they might engage them in their quarrel, and were not disappointed. Champlain, who ought to have availed himself of the superiority of knowledge the Europeans had over the Americans, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation, did not even attempt it. He warmly espoused the interests of his neighbours, and accompanied them in quest of their enemy.

The country of the Iroquois extended near eighty leagues in length, and somewhat more than forty in breadth. Its boundaries were the lake Erie, the lake Ontario, the river St. Lawrence, and the famous countries since known by the names of New-York and Pensylvania. The space between these vast limits was watered by several fine rivers. It was inhabited by five nations, which could bring about twenty thousand warriors into the field; though they are now reduced to less than fifteen hundred. They formed a kind of league or association, not unlike that of the Switzers or the Dutch. Their deputies met once a year, to hold their feast of union, and to deliberate on the interests of the commonwealth.

Though the Iroquois did not expect to be again attacked by enemies who had so often been conquered, yet they were not unprepared. The engagement was begun with equal confidence on both sides; one part relying on their usual superiority, the other on the assistance of their new ally, whose fire-arms could not fail of insuring the victory. And, indeed, no sooner had Champlain and the two Frenchmen who attended him fired a shot, which killed two chiefs of the Iroquois, and mortally

BOOK XV.

wounded a third, than the whole army fled in the utmoſt amazement and conſternation.

An alteration in the mode of attack induced them to think of changing their mode of defence. In the next campaign, they imagined it would be neceſſary to intrench themſelves againſt weapons they were unacquainted with. But their precaution was ineffectual. Notwithſtanding an obſtinate reſiſtance, their intrenchments were forced by the Indians, ſupported by a briſker fire, and a greater number of Frenchmen than in the firſt expedition. The Iroquois were almoſt all killed or taken. Thoſe who had eſcaped the action were precipitated into a river and drowned.

It is moſt probable that this nation would have been deſtroyed, or compelled to live in peace, had not the Dutch, who in 1610 had founded the colony of new Belgia in their neigbourhood, furniſhed them with arms and ammunition. Poſſibly too they might ſecretly excite their diviſions, becauſe the furs taken from the enemy during the continuance of hoſtilities, were a greater object than thoſe they could procure from their own chace. However this may be, this additional weight reſtored the balance of ſtrength between both parties. Various hoſtilities and injuries were committed by each nation, and they were both in conſequence of them conſiderably weakened. This perpetual ebb and flow of ſucceſs or misfortunes, which, in governments actuated by motives of intereſt rather than of revenge, would infallibly have reſtored tranquility, ſerved but to increaſe their animoſities, and to exaſperate a number of little clans, reſolved upon deſtroying one another. The conſequence was, that the weakeſt of theſe petty nations were ſoon deſtroyed, and the reſt were gradually reduced to nothing.

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BOOK XV.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe various checks, the power of the French was not increaſed. In 1626, they had yet but three wretched ſettlements, ſurrounded with pales. The largeſt of theſe colonies contained but fifty inhabitants, including men, women and children. The climate had not proved deſtructive to the men that had been ſent there. It was ſevere but wholeſome, and the Europeans ſtrengthened their conſtitutions there without endangering their lives. The little progreſs they made was entirely owing to the ſyſtem of an excluſive company, whoſe chief deſigns were not ſo much intended to create a national power in Canada, as to enrich itſelf in the fur trade. The evil might have been immediately removed, by aboliſhing this monopoly, and allowing a free trade in lieu of it; but it was not yet the time to adopt ſo ſimple a theory. The government, however, choſe only to employ a more numerous aſſociation, which was compoſed of men of greater property and credit.

The French colony makes no progreſs. Cauſe of this languor.

THEY gave them the diſpoſal of the ſettlements that were or ſhould be formed in Canada, together with a power of fortifying and governing them as they thought proper, and of making war or peace, as ſhould beſt promote their intereſt. The whole trade by ſea and land was allowed them for a term of fifteen years, except the cod and whale fiſheries, which were left open to all. The beaver and all the fur trade was granted to the company for ever.

To all theſe encouragements were added further favours. The king made a preſent of two large ſhips to the company, which conſiſted of ſeven hundred men. Twelve of the principal were raiſed to the rank of nobility. Gentlemen, and even the clergy, already too rich, were invited to ſhare in this trade. The company were allowed the liberty of ſending and exporting all kinds

BOOK XV.

kinds of commodities and merchandiſe, free of any duty whatſoever. The perſon who exerciſed any trade in the colony for the ſpace of ſix years, was entitled to the freedom of the ſame trade in France. The laſt favour granted them was the free entry of all goods that ſhould be manufactured in thoſe diſtant regions. This unaccountable privilege gave the workmen of New France an infinite advantage over thoſe of the old country, who were encumbered with a variety of duties, letters of maſterſhip, charges for ſtamps, and with all the impediments which ignorance and avarice had multiplied without end.

In return for ſo many marks of partiality, the company, which had a capital of a hundred thouſand crowns,(a) engaged to bring into the colony in the year 1628, which was the firſt year of their privilege, two or three hundred artificers of ſuch trades as were fitteſt for their purpoſe, and ſixteen thouſand men before the year 1643. They were to find them in lodging and board, to maintain them for three years, and afterwards to give them as much cleared land as would be neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, with a ſufficient quantity of grain to ſow it the firſt year.

Fortune did not ſecond the endeavours of government in favour of the new company. The firſt ſhips they fitted out were taken by the Engliſh, who were lately embroiled with France, on account of the ſiege of Rochelle. Richelieu and Buckingham, who were enemies from jealouſy, from perſonal character, from ſtate intereſt, and from every motive that can breed an irreconcileable enmity between two ambitious miniſters, took this opportunity to ſpirit up the two kings whom they governed, and the two nations they wanted to oppreſs. The Engliſh, who fought for their intereſts, gained the advantage over the French: and the latter loſt Canada in 1629.

(a) 13,125l.

1629. The council of Lewis XIII. were so little acquainted with the value of this settlement, that they were inclined not to demand the restitution of it; but the pride of the leading man, who considered the encroachments of the English as a personal insult, as he was then at the head of the company, made them alter their opinion. They met with less difficulty than they expected, and Canada was restored to the French in 1632 by the treaty of S. Germain en Laye. BOOK XV.

The French were not improved by adversity. The same ignorance, the same negligence prevailed after the recovery of Canada as before. The monopolizing company fulfilled none of their engagements. This breach of promise, far from being punished, was rather, as it were, rewarded by a prolongation of their charter. The clamours, indeed, of all Canada were disregarded, and the deputies sent to represent its wretched situation, were denied access to the throne, where timid truth is never suffered to approach, but is awed into silence by threats and punishments. This behaviour, equally repugnant to humanity, private interest and good policy, was attended with such consequences as must naturally be expected from it. Traffic grew languid, as the communication was too dangerous. The Indians, weakly supported by their allies the French, were continually flying before the old enemy, whom they were accustomed to dread. The Iroquois, resuming their superiority, loudly boasted that they should compel the strangers to quit their country, after they had carried off their children to replace such as they had lost of their own. The French themselves, forgotten by their mother country, and unable to gather in their scanty crops without hazard of their lives, were determined to forsake a settlement that was so ill supported. Such was the deplorable state of the colony, that it

was

BOOK XV.

was reduced to subsist upon the charities which the missionaries received from Europe.

The French are rouzed from their inactivity. Means by which this change was effected.

At last the ministry, awakened from their lethargy by a general ferment that seemed at that time to be putting all nations into motion, sent a body of four hundred good troops to Canada in 1662. This corps was reinforced two years after by the regiment of Carignan. The French gradually recovered a determined superiority over the Iroquois. Three of their nations, alarmed at their losses, made proposals for an accommodation; and the other two were so enfeebled, that they were induced to agree to it in 1668. The colony then first enjoyed profound peace. This laid the foundation of prosperity, and a free trade brought it forwards. The beaver trade alone was still monopolized.

This revolution proved a spur to industry. The old settlers, whose weakness had till then confined them within the precincts of their pales, now ventured to extend their plantations, and cultivated them with better success. All the soldiers, who consented to settle there, obtained their discharge, together with some property. The officers had lands granted them in proportion to their rank. The old settlements were improved, and new ones formed, wherever the interest or safety of the colony required. This spirit and activity brought on a brisk traffic with the Indians, and revived the intercourse between both continents. It appeared as if this prosperity would increase still more, by the care the administrators of the colony had taken, not only to keep in amity with the neighbouring nations, but likewise to establish peace and harmony amongst themselves. Not a single act of hostility was committed in an extent of four or five hundred leagues; a thing perhaps unheard of before in North America. One would have thought the French had kindled the war

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at their firſt coming, only to extinguiſh it the more ef- BOOK XV.
fectually.

But this concord could not laſt for ever amongſt people who were always armed for the chace, unleſs the power that had brought it about ſhould employ a great ſuperiority of forces to maintain it. The Iroquois, when they ſaw that this precaution was neglected, reſumed that reſtleſs diſpoſition which aroſe from their love of revenge and dominion. They were, however, careful to keep on good terms with all who were either allies or neighbours to the French. Notwithſtanding this moderation, they were told that they muſt immediately lay down their arms, and reſtore all the priſoners they had taken, or expect to ſee their country deſtroyed, and their habitations burnt down. This haughty ſummons ſhocked their pride. They anſwered that they ſhould never ſuffer the leaſt encroachment on their independence, and make them ſenſible that they were friends who were not to be neglected, and enemies who were not to be deſpiſed. Staggered, however, with this reſolute meſſage, they partly complied with what was required, and the reſt was overlooked.

But this kind of humiliation rather increaſed the reſentment of a people more accuſtomed to commit than to ſuffer injuries. The Engliſh, who in 1664 had diſpoſſeſſed the Dutch of New Belgia, and had remained maſters of their conqueſt, which they had called New York, took advantage of the diſpoſitions in which they found the Iroquois. They not only excited the ſpirit of diſcord by ſuggeſtions, but even added preſents to induce them to break with the French. The ſame artifices were uſed with the reſt of their allies. Thoſe who adhered to their allegiance were attacked. All were invited, and ſome compelled to bring their beaver and other furs to

New

BOOK XV.

New York, where they ſold much better than in the French colony.

Denonville, who had lately been ſent to Canada to enforce obedience to the authority of the proudeſt of monarchs, was impatient of all theſe inſults. Though he was in a condition not only to cover his own frontiers, but even to encroach upon thoſe of the Iroquois, yet as he was ſenſible that this nation muſt not be attacked without being deſtroyed, it was agreed that our people ſhould keep in a ſtate of ſeeming inaction, till they had received from Europe the neceſſary power for executing ſo deſperate a reſolution. Theſe ſuccours arrived in 1687, and the colony had then 11,249 perſons, of whom about one third were able to bear arms.

With this ſuperiority of forces, Denonville was mean enough to have recourſe to ſtratagem; and diſhonoured the French name among the ſavages by an infamous perfidy. Under pretence of terminating their differences by negotiation, he baſely abuſed the confidence which the Iroquois repoſed in the Jeſuit Lamberville, to allure their chiefs to a conference. As ſoon as they arrived, they were put in irons, embarked at Quebec, and ſent to the gallies.

On the firſt report of this treachery, the old men ſent for their miſſionary, and addreſſed him thus. "We are autho-
" rized to treat you as an enemy, but we cannot reſolve
" to do it. Your heart has had no ſhare in the inſult
" that has been put upon us, and it would be unjuſt to
" puniſh you for a crime you deteſt ſtill more than our-
" ſelves. But you muſt leave us. Our raſh young men
" would look upon you in the light of a traitor, who
" has delivered up the chiefs of our nation to ſhameful
" ſlavery." After this ſpeech, theſe ſavages, whom the Europeans have always called barbarians, gave the miſſionary a guard,

a guard, who never left him till they had brought him to a place of ſafety; and then both parties took up arms. BOOK XV.

THE French preſently ſpread terror amongſt the Indians bordering upon the great lakes; but Denonville had neither the activity nor diſpatch neceſſary to improve theſe firſt ſucceſſes. Whilſt he was waſting his time in deliberating, the campaign was cloſed without the acquiſition of any permanent advantage. This increaſed the boldneſs of the Iroquois who lived near the French ſettlements, where they repeatedly committed horrible ravages. The planters, finding their labours ruined by theſe deva-ſtations, which even cut off the means of repairing the damage, ardently wiſhed for a peace. Denonville's temper coincided with their wiſhes; but it was no eaſy matter to pacify an enemy whom ill uſage had made implacable. Lamberville, who ſtill maintainad his former aſcendent over them, made overtures of peace; which were attended to.

WHILST theſe negociations were carrying on, a Machiavel born in the foreſts, known by the name of Le Rat, the braveſt, the moſt reſolute, the moſt intelligent ſavage ever found in the wilds of North America, arrived at Fort Frontenac with a choſen band of Hurons, fully determined upon exploits worthy of the reputation he had acquired. He was told that a treaty was actually on foot, that the deputies of the Iroquois were upon the road to conclude it at Montreal, and that it would diſoblige the French governor if they ſhould carry on their hoſtilities againſt a nation with which they were negotiating a peace.

LE RAT, piqued that the French ſhould thus enter into negotiations without conſulting their allies, reſolved to puniſh them for their preſumption. He lay in wait for the deputies; ſome of which were killed, and the reſt taken

BOOK XV.

taken priſoners. When they told them the purport of their voyage, he feigned great ſurprize, and the more ſo, as Denonville, he ſaid, had ſent him to intercept them. In order to carry on the deceit more ſucceſsfully, he immediately releaſed them all except one, whom he kept, as he declared, to replace one of his Hurons, who had been killed in the fray. He then haſtened to Michillimakinac, where he preſented his priſoner to the French commandant, who, not knowing that Denonville was treating with the Iroquois, cauſed the unhappy ſavage to be put to death. As ſoon as he was dead, Le Rat ſent for an old Iroquois, who had long been a priſoner among the Hurons, and releaſed him that he might go and acquaint his nation, that whilſt the French were amuſing their enemies with negoitations, they continued to take priſoners and murder them. This artifice, worthy of the moſt conſummately wicked policy, ſucceeded to his utmoſt wiſh. The war was renewed with greater fury than ever, and laſted the longer, as the Engliſh, who were lately embroiled with France, on account of the dethroning of James II, thought it their intereſt to make an alliance with the Iroquois.

An Engliſh fleet, which ſailed from Europe in 1690, appeared before Quebec in October, to lay ſiege to the place. They had reaſon to expect but a faint reſiſtance, as the ſavages were to make a powerful diverſion, which would employ the principal land forces of the colony. But they were compelled ſhamefully to relinquiſh the enterprize, after having ſuſtained great loſſes. The cauſes of this diſappointment merit ſome diſcuſſion.

When the miniſtry of London projected the reduction of Canada, they determined that the land and ſea forces ſhould keep pace with each other, ſo as to arrive there at the ſame time. This wiſe plan was executed with the greateſt

greateſt preciſion. As the ſhips were ſailing up the river S. Lawrence, the troops were marching along the land, in order to reach the field of action at the ſame inſtant as the fleet. They were cloſe to the ſpot, when the Iroquois who guided and ſupported them, recollected the dangers they expoſed themſelves to, in leading their allies to the conqueſt of Quebec. Situated as we are, ſaid they, in a council they held, between two European nations, each powerful enough to deſtroy us, both intereſted in our deſtruction, when they ſhall no longer ſtand in need of our aſſiſtance, what other meaſure can we take, but to prevent either from being ſubdued by the other? Then will each of them be compelled to court our alliance, or to bribe us to a neutrality. This ſyſtem, which one might imagine to be dictated by the ſame kind of ſound policy as that which holds the balance of Europe, determined the Iroquois to return to their reſpective homes under various pretences. Their defection obliged the Engliſh to retreat; and the French, now in ſecurity on their lands, united all their forces with as much harmony as ſucceſs for the defence of their capital. BOOK XV.

The Iroquois, from motives of policy, ſtifled their reſentment againſt the French, and adhered rather to the name than to the intereſts of England. Theſe two European powers, therefore, irreconcileable rivals to each other, but ſeparated by the territory of a ſavage nation, equally apprehenſive of the ſuperiority of either, were prevented from doing each other ſo much injury as they could have wiſhed. The war therefore conſiſted merely in a few depredations, fatal to the coloniſts, but of little conſequence to the ſeveral nations concerned in them. In the midſt of the cruelties exerciſed by the ſeveral ſmall and combined parties of Engliſh and Iroquois, of French and Hurons, whoſe ravages were extended one hundred

BOOK XV. leagues from home, ſome actions were performed, which ſeemed to exalt human nature far above all theſe barbarities.

Some French and Indians having joined in an expedition that required a long march, their proviſions began to fail. The Hurons caught plenty of game, and always offered ſome to the French, who were not ſuch ſkilful huntſmen. The French were deſirous of declining the acceptance of this generous offer. *You ſhare with us the fatigues of war*, ſaid the ſavages, *it is but reaſonable that we ſhould ſhare with you the neceſſaries of life; we ſhould not be men if we acted otherwiſe with men.* If Europeans have ſometimes been capable of ſimilar magnanimity, the following is an inſtance peculiar to ſavages.

A party of Iroquois being informed that a party of the French and their allies were advancing with ſuperior forces, they fled with precipitation. They were headed by an Onontague, who was a hundred years old. He ſcorned to fly with the reſt, and choſe rather to fall into the hands of the ſavage enemies, though he had nothing to expect but exquiſite torments. What a ſight was this, to ſee four hundred barbarians eager in tormenting a poor old man, who, far from heaving a ſigh, treated the French with the utmoſt contempt, and upbraided the Hurons with having ſtooped to be the ſlaves of thoſe vile Europeans! One of his tormentors, provoked at his invectives, ſtabbed him in three places, to put an end to his repeated inſults. *Thou ſhouldſt not*, ſaid the Onontague calmly to him, *ſhorten my life, thou wouldſt have had more time to learn to die like a man.* And are theſe the men whom the French and Engliſh have been conſpiring to extirpate for a century paſt? They would, probably, bluſh, to live among ſuch models of heroiſm and magnanimity.

THE

BOOK XV.

THE peace of Ryſwick immediately put an end to the calamities of Europe and the hoſtilities in America. In imitation of the French and Engliſh, the Iroquois and Hurons were ſenſible how much they ſtood in need of a laſting tranquillity to repair the loſſes they had ſuſtained in war. The Indians began to recover themſelves; the Europeans reſumed their labours; and the fur trade, the firſt that could be entered into with a nation of huntſmen, was eſtabliſhed upon a better footing.

The furs are the foundation of the connections between the French and the Indians.

BEFORE the diſcovery of Canada, the foreſts with which it was over-run were little more than the extenſive haunt of wild beaſts. They had multiplied prodigiouſly, becauſe the few men who lived in thoſe deſerts without flocks or tame animals, left more room and more food for the animal race, wandering and free like themſelves. If the nature of the climate did not afford an infinite variety, each ſpecies produced, at leaſt, a multitude of individuals. But they at laſt paid tribute to the ſovereignty of man, that cruel title, ſo fatal to every living creature. Having neither arts nor huſbandry to employ them, the ſavages fed and clothed themſelves wholly at the expence of the wild beaſts. As ſoon as our luxury had made us adopt the uſe of their ſkins, the natives waged a perpetual war againſt them, which was the more active as it procured them plenty, and a variety of gratifications which their ſenſes were unaccuſtomed to, and the more fatal, as they had adopted the uſe of our fire-arms. This deſtructive induſtry brought over from the woods of Canada into the ports of France a great quantity and prodigious variety of furs, ſome of which were conſumed in the kingdom, and the reſt were diſpoſed of in the neighbouring countries. Moſt of theſe furs were already known in Europe; they came from the northern parts of our own hemiſphere,

BOOK XV.

but in too ſmall quantities to bring them into general uſe. Caprice and novelty have brought them more or leſs into faſhion, ſince it has been found to be for the intereſt of the American colonies that they ſhould be admired in the mother countries. It may not be improper to ſay ſomething of thoſe that are ſtill in uſe.

THE otter is a voracious animal, which as it runs or ſwims along the banks or the lakes of rivers, commonly lives upon fiſh, and when that fails, will feed upon graſs, and even the rind of aquatic plants. From his manner of living he has been ranked amongſt amphibious animals, who can equally live in the air and under water; but improperly, ſince the otter cannot live without reſpiration, any more than all other land animals. It is ſometimes found in all thoſe parts which abound in water, and are temperate, but is much more common and larger in the northern parts of America. His hair is no where ſo black or ſo fine, a circumſtance the more fatal to him, as it expoſes him more particularly to the purſuits of man.

THE pole-cat is in great requeſt on the ſame account. There are three ſorts of them; the firſt is the common pole-cat, the ſecond is called the mink, and the third the ſtinking pole-cat, becauſe his urine, which he lets fly in his fright when he is purſued, is ſo offenſive that it infects the air at a great diſtance. Their hair is darker, more gloſſy, and more ſilky than in Europe.

EVEN the rat in North-America is valuable for his ſkin. There are two ſorts chiefly whoſe ſkin makes an article of trade. The one, which is called the Opoſſum, is twice as large as ours. His hair is commonly of a ſilver grey, ſometimes of a clear white. The female has a bag under her belly, which ſhe can open and ſhut at pleaſure. When ſhe is purſued, ſhe puts her young ones into

into this bag, and runs away with them. The other, which is called the muſk-rat, becauſe his teſticles contain muſk, has all the inclinations of the beaver, of which he ſeems to be a diminutive, and his ſkin is employed for the ſame purpoſes.

THE Ermine, which is about the ſize of a ſquirrel, but not quite ſo long, has like him ſprightly eyes, a keen look, and his motions are ſo quick that the eye cannot follow them. The tip of his long and buſhy tail is as black as jet. His hair, which is as yellow as gold in ſummer, turns as white as ſnow in winter. This pretty briſk and light animal is one of the beauties of Canada; but though ſmaller than the Sable, is not ſo common.

THE Martin is only to be met with in cold countries, in the center of the foreſts, far from all habitations, and lives upon birds. Though it is but a foot and a half long, it leaves prints on the ſnow, that appear to be that of a very large animal; becauſe it always jumps along, and leaves the marks of both feet together. Its brown and yellow fur is much eſteemed, though far inferior to that ſpecies which is diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Sable. This is a ſhining black. The fineſt of the others is that whoſe browneſt ſkin reaches along the back quite to the tip of the tail. The martins ſeldom quit the inmoſt receſſes of their impenetrable woods but once in two or three years. The natives think it portends a good winter; that is, a great deal of ſnow, and conſequently good ſport.

THE animal which the ancients called Lynx, known in Siberia by the name of the Ounce, is only called the wild cat in Canada, where it is ſmaller than in our hemiſphere. This animal, to whom vulgar error would not have attributed very piercing eyes, if he were not endowed with the faculty of ſeeing, hearing and ſmelling

BOOK XV.

at a diſtance, lives upon what game he can catch, which he purſues to the very tops of the talleſt trees. His fleſh is known to be very white and well flavoured, but he is hunted chiefly for the ſake of his ſkin; the hair of which is very long, and of a fine light grey, but leſs eſteemed than that of the Fox.

This carniverous and miſchievous animal is a native of the frozen climates, where nature affording few vegetables, ſeems to oblige all animals to eat one another. In warmer climates, he has loſt much of his original beauty, and his hair has degenerated. In the north, it has remained long, ſoft and full, ſometimes white, ſometimes brown, and often red or ſandy. The fineſt by far is black; but this is more ſcarce in Canada than in Muſcovy, which lies further north, and is not ſo damp.

Besides theſe ſmaller furs, North-America ſupplies us with ſkins of the ſtag, the deer, and the roe-buck; of the mooze-deer, called there Caribou; and of the elk, which they call Orignal. Theſe two laſt kinds, which in our hemiſphere are only found towards the polar circle, the elk on this ſide, and the mooze-deer beyond, are to be met with in America in more ſouthern latitudes. This may be owing to the cold being more intenſe in America, from ſingular cauſes which make an exception to the general law; or, poſſibly, becauſe theſe freſh lands are leſs frequented by deſtructive man. Their ſtrong, ſoft and warm ſkins make excellent garments, which are very light. All theſe animals, however, are hunted for the Europeans; but the ſavages have the chace that belongs to them, and is peculiarly their favourite. It is that of the bear, which is beſt adapted to their warlike manners, their ſtrength and their bravery, and eſpecially to their wants.

In

In a cold and severe climate, the bear is most commonly black. As he is rather shy than fierce, instead of a cavern, he chuses for his lurking place the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree. There he takes his lodgment in winter, as high as he can climb. As he is very fat at the end of autumn, takes no exercise, and is almost always asleep, he must lose but little by perspiration, and consequently must seldom want to go abroad in quest of food. But he is forced out of his retreat by setting fire to it; and as soon as he attempts to come down, he falls under a shower of arrows before he can reach the ground. The Indians feed upon his flesh, rub themselves with his grease, and clothe themselves with his skin. Such was the intent of their pursuit after the bear, when a new interest directed their instinct towards the beaver.

This animal possesses all the friendly dispositions fit for society, without any of the vices or misfortunes attendant upon it. Formed by nature for social life, he is endued with an instinct adapted to it for the preservation and propagation of his species; this animal, whose tender plaintive accents, and whose striking example draw tears of admiration and pity from the humane philosopher, who contemplates his life and manners; this harmless animal, who never hurts any living creature, who is neither carnivorous nor sanguinary, is become the object of man's most earnest pursuit, and the prey which the savages hunt after with the greatest eagerness and cruelty: a circumstance owing to the unmerciful rapaciousness of the most polished nations of Europe.

The beaver is about three or four feet long, but his weight amounts to forty or sixty pounds, which is the consequence of the largeness of his muscles. His head, which he carries downwards, is like that of a rat, and his back raised in an arch above it like that of a mouse.

BOOK XV. Lucretius has obſerved, not that man has hands given him to make uſe of them, but that he had hands given him, and has made uſe of them. Thus the beaver has webs at his hinder feet, and he ſwims with them. The toes of his fore-feet are ſeparate, and anſwer the purpoſe of hands; the tail, which is flat, oval, and covered with ſcales he uſes by way of a hod and trowel; he has four ſharp inciſor teeth, which ſerve him inſtead of carpenters tools. All theſe inſtruments, which are in a manner uſeleſs whilſt he lives alone, and do not then diſtinguiſh him from other animals, are of infinite ſervice when he lives in ſociety, and enable him to diſplay a degree of ingenuity ſuperior to all inſtinct.

WITHOUT paſſions, without a deſire of doing injury to any, and without craft, when he does not live in ſociety, he ſcarcely ventures to defend himſelf. He never bites unleſs he is catched. But in the ſocial ſtate, in lieu of weapons, he has a variety of contrivances to ſecure himſelf without fighting, and to live without committing or ſuffering any injury. This peaceable and even tame animal is nevertheleſs independent; he is a ſlave to none, becauſe all his wants are ſupplied by himſelf: he enters into ſociety, but will not ſerve, nor does he pretend to command: and all his labours are directed by a ſilent inſtinct.

IT is the common want of living and multiplying, that calls the beavers home, and collects them together in ſummer to build their towns againſt winter. As early as June or July, they come in from all quarters, and aſſemble to the number of two or three hundred; but always by the water-ſide, becauſe theſe republicans are to live on the water to ſecure themſelves from invaſion. Sometimes they give the preference to ſtill lakes in unfrequented diſtricts, becauſe there the waters are always at an equal height. When they find no pools of ſtanding

ing water, they make one in the midſt of rivers or ſtreams; this they do by means of a cauſeway or dam. The mere planning of this contrivance implies ſuch a complication of ideas, as our ſhort-ſighted reaſon would be apt to think above any capacity but that of an intelligent being. The firſt thing to be erected is a pile a hundred feet long, and twelve feet thick at the baſis, which ſhelves away to two or three feet in a ſlope anſwerable to the depth of the waters. To ſave work, or to facilitate their labour, they chuſe the ſhalloweſt part of the river. If they find a large tree by the water-ſide, they fell it in ſuch a manner, as it may fall acroſs the ſtream. If it ſhould be larger in circumference than a man's body, they ſaw it through, or rather gnaw the foot with their four ſharp teeth. The branches are ſoon lopped off by theſe induſtrious workmen, who want to faſhion it into a beam. A multitude of leſſer trees are felled and cut to pieces for the intended pile. Some drag theſe trees to the river ſide, others ſwim over with them to the place where the cauſeway is to be raiſed. But the queſtion is, how theſe animals are to ſink them in the water with the aſſiſtance only of their teeth, a tail, and feet: and this is the manner in which they contrive it. With their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water. With their teeth they reſt the large end of the ſtake againſt the bank of the river, or againſt the great beam that lies acroſs. With their feet they raiſe the ſtake and ſink it with the ſharp end downwards into the hole, where it ſtands upright. With their tails they make mortar, with which they fill up all the vacancies between the ſtakes, which are bound together with twiſted boughs; and thus the pile is conſtructed. The ſlope of the dam is oppoſite to the current, the better to break the force of the water by a gradual reſiſtance, and the

BOOK XV.

ſtakes are driven in obliquely, in proportion to the inclination of the plane. The ſtakes are planted perpendicularly on the ſide where the water is to fall; and in order to open a drain which may leſſen the action of the ſlope and weight of the cauſeway, they make two or three openings at the top of it, by which part of the waters of the river may run off.

When this work is finiſhed by the whole body of the republic, every member conſiders of a lodging for himſelf. Each company builds a hut in the water upon the pile. Theſe huts are from four to ten feet in diameter, upon an oval or round ſpot. Some are two or three ſtories high, according to the number of families or houſeholds. Each hut contains at leaſt two or three, and ſome ten or fifteen. The walls, whether high or low, are about two feet thick, and are all arched at the top, and perfectly neat and ſolid both within and without. The outſide is varniſhed with a kind of ſtucco, impenetrable both to the water and to the external air. Every apartment has two openings, one on the land ſide to enable them to go out and fetch proviſions, the others on that next the ſtream, to facilitate their eſcape. At the approach of the enemy, that is, of man the deſtroyer of cities and commonwealths. The window of the houſe opens to the water. There they take the freſh air in the day time, plunged into the river up to their middle. In winter it ſerves to fence them againſt the ice, which gathers to the thickneſs of two or three feet. The ſhelf, which is to prevent its ſtopping up this window, reſts upon two ſtakes that ſlope in ſuch a manner as may beſt carry off the water from the houſe, and leave an outlet to creep out, or to go and ſwim under the ice. The inſide of the houſe has no other furniture than a flooring of

of graſs, covered with the boughs of the fir-tree. No BOOK XV.
filth of any kind is ever ſeen in theſe apartments.

THE materials for theſe buildings are always to be found in their neighbourhood. Theſe are alders, poplars, and other trees delighting in watery places, as theſe republicans do who build their apartments of them. Theſe citizens have the ſatisfaction at the ſame time that they faſhion the wood, to nouriſh themſelves with it. In imitation of certain ſavages of the frozen ocean, they eat the bark. The ſavages, indeed, do not like it till it is dried, pounded and properly dreſſed; whereas the beavers chew it and ſuck it when it is quite green. They lay up a proviſion of bark and tender twigs in ſeparate ſtore-houſes for every hut, proportionable to the number of its inhabitants. Every beaver knows his own ſtorehouſe, and not one of them pilfers his neighbour's. Each party lives in its own habitation and is contented with it, though jealous of the property it has acquired in it by its labour. The proviſions of the community are collected and expended without diſſentions. They are ſatisfied with that ſimple food which their labour prepares for them. The only paſſion they have is that of conjugal affection, the baſis and end of which is the reproduction of their ſpecies. Towards the end of winter, the mothers bring forth their young ones, bred in autumn; and whilſt the father ranges all the woods, allured by the ſweets of the ſpring, leaving to his little family the room he took up in his narrow cell, the dam ſuckles and nurſes them, to the number of two or three. Then ſhe takes them out along with her in her excurſions, in ſearch of cray and other fiſh, and green bark, to recruit her own ſtrength and to feed them, till the ſeaſon of labour returns.

THIS

BOOK XV.

THIS republican, induſtrious, intelligent people, ſkilled in architecture, provident and ſyſtematical in its plans of police and ſociety, is the beaver, whoſe gentle and exemplary manners we have been deſcribing. Happy if his covering did not tempt mercileſs and ſavage man to deſtroy his buildings and his race. Frequently when the Americans have demoliſhed the ſettlements of the beavers, thoſe indefatigable animals have had the reſolution to build them up again, for ſeveral ſummers ſucceſſively, upon the very ſame ſpot. The winter is the time for attacking them. Experience warns them of their danger. At the approach of the huntſmen, one of them ſtrikes a hard ſtroke with his tail upon the water; this ſignal ſpreads a general alarm thoughout all the huts of the commonwealth, and every one tries to ſave himſelf under the ice. But it is very difficult to eſcape all the ſnares that are laid for this harmleſs tribe.

SOMETIMES the huntſmen lie in wait for them, but as theſe animals ſee and hear at a great diſtance, they can ſeldom be ſhot by the water-ſide, and they never venture ſo far from it as to be caught by ſurprize. Should the beaver be wounded before he has got under water, he has always time enough to plunge in, and if he dies afterwards, he is loſt, becauſe he ſinks, and never riſes again.

A more certain way of catching beavers is, by laying traps in the woods, where they eat tender bark of young trees. Theſe traps are baited with freſh ſlips of wood, and as ſoon as the beavers touch them, an enormous weight falls and cruſhes their loins. The man, who is concealed near the place, haſtens to it, ſeizes his prey, and having diſpatched it, carries it off.

OTHER methods are ſtill more commonly and more ſucceſsfully practiſed. The huts are ſometimes attacked,

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in order to drive out the inhabitants, and then wait for them at the edges of the holes they have bored in the ice, where they cannot avoid coming to take in fresh air. The moment they appear, they are knocked on the head. At other times the animal, driven out of his lodgment, is entangled in the nets that are spread all round, by breaking up the ice for some toises round his hut. If they want to catch the whole colony at once, instead of breaking down the sluices to drown the inhabitants, as it might be done in Holland, they open the causeway, to drain off the water from the pool where the beavers live. When they are thus left dry, defenceless, and unable to escape, they may be caught at pleasure and destroyed at any time: but care is always taken to leave a sufficient number of males and females to preserve the breed; an act of generosity which in reality proceeds only from avarice. The cruel foresight of man only spares a few in order to have the more to destroy. The beaver, whose plaintive cry seems to implore his clemency and pity, finds in the savage, whom the Europeans have made barbarous, only an implacable enemy, who no longer fights so much to supply his own wants, as to furnish superfluities to another world.

If we compare the manners, the police and the industry of the beavers with the wandering life of the savages of Canada; we shall be inclined to allow, admitting for the superiority of man's faculties above those of animals, that the beaver was much further advanced in the arts of social life than his pursuer, when the Europeans first brought their talents and improvements to North-America.

The beaver, an older inhabitant of that world than man, and the quiet possessor of those regions so well adapted to his species, had employed that quiet he had enjoyed for many

ages

BOOK XV.

ages, in the improvement of his faculties. In our hemisphere, man has seized upon the most wholesome and fertile regions, and has driven out or subdued all other animals. If the bee and the ant have preserved their laws and government from the jealous and destructive dominion of tyrant man, this has been owing to the smallness of their size. It is thus we see some republics, having neither splendor nor strength, maintain themselves by their very weakness, in the midst of the vast monarchies of Europe, which must sooner or later swallow them up. But the sociable quadrupeds, banished into uninhabited climates, unfit for their increase, have been unconnected in all places, incapable of uniting into a community, or of improving their natural sagacity; whilst man, who has reduced them to that precarious state, exults in their degradation, and prides himself in that superior nature and those rational powers, which constitute a perpetual distinction between his species and all others.

The brutes, we are told, bring nothing to perfection: their operations, therefore, can only be mechanical, and suppose no principle similar to that which actuates man. Without examining in what particulars perfection consists; whether the most civilized being is in reality the most perfect; whether what he acquires in the property of things, he does not lose it in the property of his person; or, whether all he adds to his enjoyments is not so much subtracted from his duration: we cannot but confess that the beaver, which in Europe is a wandering, solitary, timorous and stupid animal, was in Canada acquainted with civil and domestic government; knew how to distinguish the proper seasons for labour and rest, was acquainted with some rules of architecture, and with the curious and learned art of constructing dikes. Yet he had attained to this degree of improvement with feeble

feeble and imperfect tools. He can hardly ſee the work he does with his tail. His teeth, which anſwer the purpoſes of a variety of tools, are circular, and confined by the lips. Man, on the contrary, with hands fit for every purpoſe, hath in this ſingle organ of the touch all the combined powers of ſtrength and dexterity. Is it not to this advantage of organization that he owes the ſuperiority of his ſpecies above all others? It is not because his eyes are turned towards heaven, as thoſe of all birds are, that he is the lord of the creation; it is becauſe he is provided with hands that are ſupple, pliable, induſtrious, formidable, and weapons of defence, and ever ready to aſſiſt him. His hand is his ſcepter: it is with that he marks his dominion over the earth, by deſtroying and ravaging the face of the globe. The ſureſt ſign of the population of mankind is the depopulation of other ſpecies. That of beavers gradually decreaſes and diſappears in Canada, ſince the Europeans have been in requeſt of their ſkins.

THEIR ſkins vary with the climate, both in colour and kind. In the ſame diſtrict, however, where the colonies of civilized beavers are found, there are ſome that are wild and ſolitary. Theſe animals, who are ſaid to be turned out of the ſociety for their ill behaviour, live in a channel under ground, and have neither lodging nor ſtorehouſe. Their coat is dirty, and the hair is worn off of their backs by rubbing againſt the cave which they dig for their habitation. This ſlip, which commonly opens into ſome pond or ditch full of water, ſometimes extends above a hundred feet in length, and ſlopes up gradually to facilitate their eſcape from inundations when the waters riſe. Some of theſe beavers are ſo wild as to fly from all communication with their natural element, and to live entirely on land. In this they agree with our otters in Europe. Theſe wild beavers have not ſuch ſleek hair

BOOK XV.

as those that live in societies; their furs are answerable to their manners.

BEAVERS are found in America from the thirtieth to sixtieth degree of north latitude. There are but few towards the south, but they increase in number and grow darker as we advance towards the north. In the country of the Illinois, they are yellow and straw coloured; higher up, they are of a light chesnut; to the north of Canada of a dark chesnut, and some are even found that are quite black, and these are reckoned the finest. Yet in this climate, the coldest that is inhabited by this species, there are some among the black ones that are quite white, others white speckled with grey, and sometimes with sandy spots on the rump: so much does nature delight in shewing the gradations of warmth and cold, and their various influences, not only on the figure, but on the very clothing of animals. The value that men set on their lives, depends upon the colour of their skins. Some they neglect to that degree, that they will not even kill them, but this is uncommon.

In what places, and in what manner the fur trade was carried on.

THE fur trade was the first the Europeans carried on in Canada. It was first opened by the French colony at Tadousac, a port situated thirty leagues below Quebec. About the year 1640, the town of Les Trois Rivieres at the distance of twenty-five leagues from the capital and higher up, became a second mart. In process of time all the fur trade centered in Montreal. The skins were brought thither on canoes made of the bark of trees in the month of June. The number of Indians who resorted to that place increased, as the fame of the French spread further. The account of the reception they had met with, the sight of the things they had received in exchange for their goods, every thing contributed to increase the concourse. Whenever they returned with a fresh supply of furs

furs they always brought a new nation along with them. Thus a kind of fair was opened, to which the ſeveral tribes of that vaſt continent reſorted. BOOK XV.

The Engliſh grew jealous of this branch of wealth; and the colony they had founded at New York, ſoon found means to divert the ſtream of this great circulation. As ſoon as they had ſecured a ſubſiſtence, by beſtowing their firſt attention upon agriculture, they began to think of the fur trade, which was at firſt confined to the country of the Iroquois. The five nations of that name, would not ſuffer their lands to be traverſed in order to give an opportunity of treating with other ſavage nations, who were at conſtant enmity with them; nor would they allow thoſe nations to come upon their territories, to ſhare in competition with them the profits of the trade they had opened with the Europeans. But time having extinguiſhed, or rather ſuſpended the national hoſtilities between the Indians, the Engliſh ſpread all over the country, and the ſavages flocked to them from all quarters. This nation had infinite advantages for obtaining the preference over their rivals the French. Their navigation was eaſier, and conſequently they could afford to underſell them. They were the only manufacturers of the coarſe cloths that beſt ſuited the ſavages. The beaver trade was free among them, whereas among the French, it was and ever has been ſubject to the tyranny of monopoly. It was by this freedom and theſe indulgencies, that they engroſſed moſt of the trade that rendered Montreal ſo famous.

At this time the French in Canada indulged themſelves more freely in a cuſtom, which at firſt had been confined within narrow bounds. Their inclination for frequenting the woods, which was that of the firſt coloniſts, had been wiſely reſtrained within the limits of the territory belonging to the colony. Permiſſion was, however, granted

BOOK XV.

every year to twenty-five perſons to extend beyond theſe limits to trade with the Indians. The ſuperiority which New York was acquiring, was the cauſe of increaſing the number of theſe permiſſions. They were a kind of patent, which the patentees might make uſe of either in perſon or by proxy, and which laſted a year or more. They were ſold, and the produce was diſtributed by the governor of the colony, to the officers, or their widows and children, to hoſpitals and miſſionaries, to ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſome great action, or ſome uſeful undertaking; and ſometimes even to the creatures of the governor who ſold the patents himſelf. The money which he did not give away, or did not chuſe to keep, was put into the public coffers; but he was accountable to none for this adminiſtration.

THIS cuſtom was attended with fatal conſequences. Many of theſe traders ſettled among the Indians, to defraud their partners whoſe goods they had diſpoſed of. Many more went and ſettled among the Engliſh, where the profits are greater. Several of our people were loſt upon immenſe lakes, frequently agitated with violent ſtorms; among the caſcades, which render navigation ſo dangerous up the broadeſt rivers in the whole world; under the weight of the canoes, the proviſions, and the bales of goods, which they were forced to carry upon their ſhoulders at the *carrying places*, where the rapidity or ſhallowneſs of the water obliged them to quit the rivers, and purſue their journey by land. Numbers periſhed in the ſnow and on the ice, by hunger or by the ſword of the enemy. Thoſe who returned to the colony with a profit of ſix or ſeven hundred *per cent.* were not always the more uſeful members, as they gave themſelves up to the greateſt exceſſes, and by their example, diſguſted others from aſſiduous labours. Their fortunes diſappeared as quickly

quickly as they had been amaſſed, like thoſe moving mountains which a whirlwind raiſes and deſtroys at once on the ſandy plains of Africa. Moſt of theſe travelling traders, ſpent with the exceſſive fatigues which their avarice prompted them to undergo, and the licentiouſneſs of a wandering and diſſolute life, dragged on a premature old age in indigence and infamy. The government took notice of theſe irregularities, and put the fur trade upon a better footing.

FRANCE had for a long time been inceſſantly employed in erecting a number of forts, which were thought neceſſary for her preſervation and aggrandizement in North America. Thoſe they had built to the weſt and ſouth of the river S. Lawrence, were large and ſtrong, and were intended to confine the ambition of the Engliſh. Thoſe which were conſtructed on the ſeveral lakes in the moſt important poſitions, formed a chain which extended northward to the diſtance of a thouſand leagues from Quebec; but they were only miſerable palliſades, intended to keep the Indians in awe, and to ſecure their alliance, and the produce of their chace. There was a garriſon in each, more or leſs numerous, according to the importance of the poſt, and of the enemies who threatened it. It was thought proper to intruſt the commandant of each of theſe forts with the excluſive right of buying and ſelling in the whole diſtrict under his dominion. This privilege was purchaſed; but as it was always productive of profit, and ſometimes of a conſiderable fortune, it was granted to none but ſuch officers as were moſt in favour. If any of theſe had not a ſtock ſufficient for the undertaking, he could eaſily get ſome monied men to join with him. It was pretended that this ſyſtem, far from being contrary to the benefit of the ſervice, was a means of promoting it, as it obliged the gentlemen of the army to keep up more

BOOK XV.

conſtant connections with the natives, to watch their motions, and to neglect nothing that could ſecure their friendſhip. No body foreſaw, or choſe to foreſee, that this could not fail of ſtifling every ſentiment, but that of ſelf-intereſt, and would be a ſource of perpetual oppreſſion.

THIS tyranny, which ſoon became univerſal, was ſeverely felt at Frontenac, at Niagara, and at Toronto. The farmers of thoſe three forts, abuſing their privilege, ſet ſo low a value upon the goods that were brought them, and rated their own ſo high, that by degrees the Indians would not ſtop there. They went in vaſt numbers to Chouaguen, on the lake Ontario, where the Engliſh dealt with them upon more advantageous terms. Theſe new connections were repreſented as alarming to the court of France, who found means to weaken them, by taking the trade of theſe three poſts into her own hands, and treating the Indians ſtill better than they were treated by the rival nation.

THE conſequence was, that the king acquired the ſole poſſeſſion of all the refuſe of the furs; and got the ſkins of all the beaſts that were killed in ſummer and autumn; the moſt ordinary, the thinneſt, and moſt eaſily ſpoiled, were reſerved for the king. All theſe damaged furs, unfairly bought, and careleſsly heaped up in warehouſes, were eaten up by the moths. At the proper ſeaſon for ſending them to Quebec, they were put into boats, and left to the diſcretion of ſoldiers, paſſengers and watermen, who, as they had no concern in thoſe goods, did not take the leaſt care to keep them dry. When they came into the hands of the managers of the colony, they were ſold for half of the little they were worth. Thus the returns were rather leſs than the ſums advanced by the government for this loſing trade.

BUT

BOOK XV

But though this trade was of no value to the king, it may yet be doubted whether it brought any profit to the Indians, though gold and ſilver were not the dangerous medium of their traffic. They received, indeed, in exchange for their furs; ſaws, knives, hatchets, kettles, fiſh-hooks, needles, thread, ordinary linen, coarſe woollen ſtuffs, the firſt tokens or bands of ſociability. But we ſold them articles likewiſe that would have proved prejudicial to them even as a gift or a preſent, ſuch as guns, powder and ſhot, tobacco, and eſpecially brandy.

This liquor, the moſt fatal preſent the old world ever made to the new, was no ſooner known to the ſavages, than they grew paſſionately fond of it. It was equally impoſſible for them to abſtain from it, or to uſe it with moderation. It was ſoon obſerved that this liquor diſturbed their domeſtic peace; deprived them of their judgment; made them furious; that it occaſioned huſbands, wives, children, brothers and ſiſters, to abuſe and quarrel with one another. In vain did ſome ſober Frenchmen expoſtulate with them, and endeavour to ſhame them out of theſe exceſſes. It is you, anſwered they, who have taught us to drink this liquor; and now we cannot do without it. If you refuſe to give it us, we will go and get it of the Engliſh. It is you have done the miſchief, and it cannot be repaired.

The court of France, upon receiving contradictory information with reſpect to the diſorders occaſioned by this pernicious trade, hath alternately prohibited, tolerated, and authorized it, according to the light in which it was repreſented to the miniſtry. In the midſt of theſe variations, the intereſt of the merchants was ſeldom at a ſtand. The ſale of brandy was at all times nearly the ſame. Rational men conſidered it, however, as the principal cauſe of the diminution of the human race, and

BOOK XV.

conſequently of the ſkins of beaſts, which became every day more and more evident.

THIS decay of the fur trade was not yet ſo remarkable as it has been ſince, when the promotion of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Charles V. ſpread an alarm over all Europe, and plunged it once more into the horrors of a general war. The conflagration extended beyond the ſeas, and was advancing even to Canada, had not the Iroquois put a ſtop to it. The Engliſh and French had long vied with each other in courting the alliance of that nation. Theſe demonſtrations of eſteem or fear, had ſo elevated their natural pride, that they thought themſelves the umpires of the two rival nations, and pretended that their intereſts were to regulate the conduct of both. As they were inclined to peace at that time, they haughtily declared that they would take up arms againſt either of the two, which ſhould commence hoſtilities againſt each other. This reſolution ſuited the ſituation of the French colony, which was ill provided for a war, and expected no aſſiſtance from the mother country. New York, on the contrary, whoſe forces already conſiderable, were daily increaſing, wiſhed to prevail upon the Iroquois to join with them. Their inſinuations, preſents, and negotiations were ineffectual till 1709. At that period they ſucceeded in ſeducing the five nations; and their troops, which till then had remained inactive, marched out ſupported by a vaſt number of Indian warriors.

THE army was proudly advancing towards the center of Canada with the greateſt probability of conquering, when one of the chiefs of the Iroquois, who had never approved of their proceedings, ſimply ſaid to his people, what will become of us, if we ſhould ſucceed in driving away the French? Theſe few words, uttered with a myſterious and anxious look, immediately recalled to the minds of

of all the people their former ſyſtem, which was to keep the balance even between the two foreign nations, in order to ſecure their own independence. They inſtantly reſolved to forſake a plan they had been too precipitately engaged in, contrary to the public intereſt; but as they thought it would be ſhameful openly to quit their aſſociates, they imagined that ſecret treachery might be ſubſtituted to open defection. The lawleſs ſavages, the virtuous Spartans, the religious Hebrews, the ſagacious and warlike Greeks and Romans, all people, whether civilized or not, have always made what is called the right of nations conſiſt either in craft or violence.

The army had halted on the banks of a little river to wait for the artillery and ammunition. The Iroquois, who ſpent their leiſure hours in hunting, contrived to ſtrip all the beaſts they caught, and throw their ſkins into the river, a little above the camp. The waters were ſoon infected. The Engliſh, who ſuſpected no ſuch perfidy, continued drinking of the poiſoned ſtream. Such numbers immediately died, that they were forced to deſiſt.

A ſtill more imminent danger threatened the French colony. A numerous fleet deſtined againſt Quebec, entered the river St. Lawrence the following year, with the greateſt probability of ſucceſs, if it could but reach the place of its deſtination. But the raſhneſs of the admiral, joined to the violence of the elements, occaſioned its deſtruction in the river. Thus was Canada at once delivered from its anxieties both by ſea and land, and had the glory of maintaining itſelf without ſuccours and without loſs, againſt the ſtrength and policy of the Engliſh.

France is compelled to cede part of the provinces that were united to Canada.

France, however, which for forty years had alone withſtood the combined efforts of all Europe, vanquiſhed or repulſed all the united nations, accompliſhed that with her

BOOK XV. her own ſubjects, under Lewis XIV., which Charles V. had not been able to effect with the innumerable troops of his ſeveral kingdoms; France which had, at that time, as many great men as would have immortalized twenty reigns, and in the courſe of one reign had done as many great actions as might have aggrandized twenty nations; France was then upon the point of crowning all theſe glorious ſucceſſes by placing a branch of the houſe of Bourbon on the throne of Spain. She had then fewer enemies and a greater number of allies than ſhe ever had in the moſt brilliant periods of her proſperity. Every thing concurred to promiſe her an eaſy ſucceſs, a ſpeedy and deciſive ſuperiority.

It was not fortune but nature itſelf that changed her deſtiny. Haughty and vigorous under a king in all the graces and ſtrength of youth, after having riſen with him through the ſeveral degrees of glory and grandeur, ſhe ſank with him through all the periods of decay incident to human nature. The ſpirit of bigotry, which had been introduced into the court by an ambitious woman, determined the choice of miniſters, generals, and adminiſtrators; and this choice was always blind and unfortunate. Kings, who like other men have recourſe to heaven, when they are ready to quit the earth, ſeem in their old age to ſeek for a new ſet of flatterers, who ſooth them with hopes, at the time when all realities are diſappearing. Then it is that hypocriſy, ever ready to take advantage of the firſt and ſecond childhood of life, awakens in the ſoul the ideas that had been early implanted in it; and under pretence of guiding the man to the only happineſs that remains for him, aſſumes an abſolute empire over his will. But as this laſt age, as well as the firſt, is a ſtate of weakneſs, a continual fluctuation muſt, therefore, prevail in the government. Cabals grow more

more violent and more powerful than ever; the expectations of intriguing men are raiſed; and merit is leſs rewarded; ſuperior talents are afraid to make themſelves known; ſollicitations of every kind preſs forward; places fall by chance upon men all unequally unfit to fill them, and yet, preſumptuous enough to think they deſerve them; men who rate the eſtimation they entertain of themſelves by the contempt they have of others. The nation then loſes its ſtrength, with its confidence, and every thing goes on as it is begun without deſign, vigour or underſtanding.

To raiſe a country from a ſtate of barbariſm, to maintain it in the height of its glory, and to check the rapidity of its decline, are three things very difficult to accompliſh; but the laſt is certainly the moſt arduous of them all. A nation riſes out of barbariſm by ſudden efforts exerted at intervals; it ſupports itſelf at the ſummit of its proſperity by the powers it has acquired; it declines by an univerſal languor, which has been prepared by almoſt imperceptible gradations. Barbarous nations require a long continued reign; but reigns of a ſhort duration are beſt adapted to proſperous ones. But the tedious imbecillity of a declining monarch lays the foundation of evils for his ſucceſſor, which it is almoſt impoſſible to remedy.

Such was the latter part of the reign of Lewis XIV. After a ſeries of defeats and mortifications, he was ſtill happy that he could purchaſe peace by ſacrifices which denoted his humiliation. But he ſeemed to wiſh to conceal theſe ſacrifices from his people, by making them chiefly beyond ſea. It is eaſy to judge how much his pride muſt have ſuffered, in giving up to the Engliſh Hudſon's bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia, three poſ-

ſeſſions

BOOK XV.

ſeſſions which, together with Canada, formed that immenſe tract of country known by the glorious name of New France. The next book will ſhew us how this power, accuſtomed to conqueſt, endeavoured to repair her loſſes.

END OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK XVI.

Account of the French Settlements in North-America continued.

THE war, carried on for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, had raiſed a ferment in the four quarters of the world, which have been diſturbed by the commotions of Europe for theſe two centuries paſt. Every throne was ſhaken in contending for one, which under the dominion of Charles V. had ſtruck terror into them all. One houſe, ruling over five or ſix ſtates, had raiſed the Spaniſh nation to a pitch of greatneſs which could not fail of being highly flattering to her. A houſe whoſe power was ſtill ſuperior, from having its dominions more connected together, was ambitious of giving the law to that haughty nation. The names of Auſtria and Bourbon, which had been rivals for two hundred years, were now exerting their laſt efforts to acquire a ſuperiority, which ſhould no longer be precarious or doubtful between them. The matter of contention was, which of the two ſhould have the greateſt number of crowns to boaſt the poſſeſſion of. Europe, divided between the claims of the two houſes, which were not altogether groundleſs, was inclined to allow

BOOK XVI.

allow them to extend their branches, but not to permit that ſeveral ſcepters ſhould be united to one houſe, as had formerly been the caſe. All took up arms to diſperſe or divide a vaſt inheritance; and reſolved to pull it to pieces, rather than ſuffer it to be attached to a power, which, with this additional weight of ſtrength, muſt infallibly deſtroy the balance of all the reſt. The war was a long one, becauſe it was ſupported on all ſides by numerous forces and great abilities, by warlike people and ſkillful generals; it deſolated the countries it ſhould have ſuccoured, and even ruined the nations that had no concern in it. Victory ſhould have given the law, but this was ſo wavering, that it ſerved but to kindle the flames of diſcord. The ſame troops that were ſucceſsful in one country, were foiled in another. The people who triumphed on the ſea, were defeated on the land. The news of the loſs of a fleet and the gaining of a battle arrived at the ſame time. Succeſs fluctuated from one camp to another, but to complete their mutual deſtruction. At laſt, when the blood and treaſure of the ſeveral ſtates were exhauſted, and after a ſeries of calamities and expences that had laſted near twelve years, the nations, who had profited by their misfortunes, and were weakened by their ſtruggles, were ſollicitous of repairing their loſſes. They endavoured to find in the new world the means of repopulating and re-eſtabliſhing the old. France firſt turned her views towards North-America, to which ſhe ſeemed invited by the ſimilarity of ſoil and climate, and the iſland of Cape-Breton became immediately the object of her attention.

The French to repair their loſſes people and fortify Cape-Breton; and eſtabliſh conſiderable fiſheries there.

The Engliſh conſidered this poſſeſſion as an equivalent for all that the French had loſt by the treaty of Utrecht, and not being thoroughly reconciled with them, ſtrongly oppoſed their being allowed to people and fortify it.

it. They ſaw no other method of excluding them from the cod-fiſhery, and making the entrance into Canada difficult for their ſhips. The moderation of queen Anne, or, perhaps, the corruption of her miniſters, prevented France from being expoſed to this freſh mortification: and ſhe was authorized to make what alterations ſhe might think proper at Cape-Breton.

THIS iſland is ſituated at the entrance of the gulph of St. Lawrence, between the 45th and 47th degrees of north latitude. Newfoundland lies to the eaſt, on the ſame gulph, and is only 15 or 16 leagues diſtant from it; and to the weſt, Acadia is only ſeparated from the iſland by a ſtreight, not more than 3 or 4 leagues over. Thus ſituated between the territories ceded to her enemies, ſhe threatened their poſſeſſions, while ſhe protected thoſe of France. The iſland meaſures about 36 leagues in length, and 22 in its greateſt breadth. It is beſet on all ſides with little ſharp-pointed rocks, ſeparated from each other by the waves, above which ſome of their tops are viſible. All its harbours open to the eaſt, and as one turns towards the ſouth. On the other parts of the coaſt there are but a few anchoring places for ſmall veſſels, in creeks, or between iſlets. Except in the hilly parts, the ſurface of the country has but little firmneſs, being every where covered with a light moſs and with water. The dampneſs of the ground exhales itſelf in fogs, without rendering the air unwholeſome. In other reſpects, the climate is very cold, which is owing either to the prodigious quantity of lakes, covering above half the iſland, and which remain for a long while frozen, or to the number of foreſts, that render it inacceſſible to the rays of the ſun; the effect of which is already diminiſhed by perpetual clouds.

THOUGH

BOOK XVI.

THOUGH ſome fiſhermen had long ſince reſorted to Cape Breton every ſummer, yet not above twenty or thirty had ever fixed there. The French who took poſſeſſion of it in Auguſt 1713, were properly the firſt inhabitants. They changed its name into that of Iſle Royale, and pitched upon Fort Dauphin for their principal ſettlement. This harbour was two leagues in circumference. The ſhips which came to the very edge, were ſheltered from winds. Foreſts affording oak ſufficient to build and fortify a large city, were near at hand. The ground appeared leſs barren than in other parts, and the fiſhery was more plentiful. This harbour might have been made impregnable at a trifling expence, but the difficulty of getting at it, a circumſtance that had at firſt made a ſtronger impreſſion than the advantages reſulting from it, occaſioned it to be abandoned even after great labour had been beſtowed upon it. They then turned their views to Louisbourg, the acceſs of which was eaſier, and convenience was thus preferred to ſecurity.

THE harbour of Louisbourg, ſituated on the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, is at leaſt a league in depth, and above a quarter of a league acroſs in the narroweſt part. Its bottom is good, the ſoundings are uſually from ſix to ten fathom, and it is eaſy to tack about in it either to get in or out even in bad weather. It incloſes a ſmall gulph very commodious for refitting ſhips of all ſizes, which may even winter there, with proper precautions. The only inconvenience attending this excellent harbour is, that it is frozen up from November till May, and frequently it is not free till June. The entrance, which is naturally narrow, is further guarded by Goat iſland. The cannon of which playing upon a level with the ſurface of the water, would ſink ſhips of any ſize, that ſhould attempt to force the paſſage. The batteries, one

of

of thirty-ſix, the other of twelve twenty-four pounders, BOOK XVI. erected on the two oppoſite ſhores, would ſupport and croſs this formidable fire.

THE town was built on an oblong ſlip of land that advances into the ſea, and is about half a league in circuit; the ſtreets are broad and regular. Almoſt all the houſes are made of wood. Thoſe that are built of ſtone, have been conſtructed at the expence of the government, and are deſtined for the reception of the troops. A number of wharfs have been erected, that jet out a conſiderable way into the harbour, and are extremely convenient to load and unload the ſhips.

IT was only in 1720 that the fortification of Louiſbourg was begun. This undertaking was executed upon very good plans, with all the works that can make a place formidable. A ſpace of about a hundred toiſes only, was left without ramparts on the ſide next the ſea, that being thought ſufficiently defended by its ſituation. It was ſtopped up merely by a kind of dam. The ſea was ſo ſhallow in that place, that it made a kind of narrow canal, and ſo ſurrounded with rocks that it was inacceſſable to any ſhipping whatever. The ſide baſtions completed the ſecurity of that ſpot from any deſcent.

THE neceſſity there was of bringing ſtone from Europe, and many other materials neceſſary for theſe great works, ſometimes retarded their progreſs, but never put an end to them. More than thirty millions (*b*) were expended upon them. This was not thought too great a ſum for the ſupport of the fiſheries, for ſecuring the communication between France and Canada, and for opening a ſhelter in time of war to ſhips coming from the ſouthern iſlands. Nature and found policy required that

(*b*) 1,312,500*l*.

BOOK XVI.

that the riches of the ſouth ſhould be protected by the ſtrength of the north.

In the year 1714, ſome fiſhermen, who till then had lived in Newfoundland, came and ſettled in this iſland. It was expected they would be followed by the Acadians, who by the treaty were at liberty to remove with all their moveables, and even to diſpoſe of their eſtates; but theſe hopes were diſappointed. The Acadians choſe rather to retain their poſſeſſions under the dominion of England, than to give them up for any precarious advantage they might derive from their attachment to France. Their place was ſupplied by ſome miſerable adventurers from Europe, who came over from time to time to Cape Breton, and the population of the colony gradually increaſed to the number of four thouſand ſouls. They were ſettled at Louiſbourg, Fort Dauphin, Port Toulouſe, Nericka, and on all the coaſts where they found a proper beach for drying the cod.

The inhabitants never applied themſelves to agriculture, the ſoil being unfit for it. They have often attempted to ſow corn, but it ſeldom came to maturity; and when it did thrive ſo far as to be worth reaping, it had ſo much degenerated, that it could not ſerve for ſeed for the next harveſt. They have not perſiſted in ſowing any thing but a few pot-herbs, that are tolerably well taſted, but muſt be renewed every year from abroad. The poorneſs and ſcarcity of paſtures has likewiſe prevented the increaſe of cattle. In a word, the ſoil of Cape Breton ſeemed to invite none but fiſhermen and ſoldiers.

Though the iſland was covered with foreſts before it was inhabited, its wood has ſcarce ever been an object of trade. Not but that a great quantity of ſoft wood was found there that was fit for firing, and ſome that might

might be used for timber; but the oak has always been very scarce there, and the deal never yielded much resin. BOOK XVI.

The fur trade was but an insignificant object. The island afforded only a few lynxes, elks, musk rats, wild cats, bears, otters, and foxes both of a red and silver grey colour. Some of their skins were procured from a colony of Mickmac Indians who had settled on the island with the French, and never could raise more than sixty men able to bear arms. The rest came from St. John's, or the neighbouring continent.

It would have been possible to draw greater advantages from the coal mines which abound on the island. They lie in a horizontal direction, and are never above six or eight feet below the surface, so that they can be worked without digging deep, or draining off the waters. Though there had been a prodigious demand for it from New England, from the year 1745 to 1749, these mines would, probably, have been forsaken, had not the ships sent out to the French islands wanted ballast. A fire which could never be extinguished, has raged in one of these mines. It burns still, and it may be supposed that it will one day occasion some extraordinary explosion. If the carelessness of one man has been capable by a single spark of kindling a fire, which for these several years devours the bowels of the earth, how little exertion does nature require to stir up a volcano, able to consume a whole country with its inhabitants!

The whole activity of the colony has constantly been exerted in the cod fishery. The less wealthy inhabitants employed yearly two hundred boats in this fishery, and the richest fifty or sixty vessels from thirty to fifty tons burden. The small craft always kept within four or five leagues of the coast, and returned at night to bring their fish home, which being immediately cured, had always

BOOK XVI.

the utmoſt degree of perfection it was capable of. The larger ſmacks went to fiſh further out, kept their cargo for ſeveral days, and as the fiſh was apt to take too much ſalt, it was not ſo much valued. But this inconvenience was balanced by the advantage of following their prey, when the want of food drove it from the iſland; and by the facility of carrying the produce of their labours to the ſouthern iſlands in autumn, or even to France.

Besides the fiſhermen ſettled on the iſland, others came every year from France to dry their fiſh, either in the habitations, where they agreed with the owners, or upon the beach, which was always reſerved for their uſe.

The mother country regularly ſent them ſhips loaded with proviſions, liquors, wearing apparel, houſhold goods, and all things neceſſary for the inhabitants of the colony. The largeſt of theſe ſhips, confining themſelves to trade, went back to Europe as ſoon as they had bartered their lading for cod. Thoſe from fifty to a hundred tons burden, after having landed their little cargo, went a fiſhing themſelves, and did not return home till the ſeaſon was over.

The people of Cape Breton did not ſend all their fiſh to Europe. They ſent part of it to the French ſouthern iſlands, on board twenty or twenty-five ſhips, from ſeventy to a hundred and forty tons burden. Beſides the fiſh, which made half their cargo, they exported to the other colonies, timber, planks, thin boards of oak, ſalt ſalmon and mackarel, train oil, and ſea coal. All theſe were paid for in ſugar and coffee, but chiefly in rum and melaſſes.

The iſland could not conſume all theſe commodities. Canada took off but a ſmall part of their overplus; it was moſtly bought by the people of New England, who gave them in exchange fruits, vegetables, wood, brick

and

and cattle. This bartering was allowed; but beſides this, they ſmuggled flour, and a conſiderable quantity of ſalt fiſh. BOOK XVI.

NOTWITHSTANDING this circulation, which was all carried on at Louiſbourg, moſt of the coloniſts were in a wretched ſtate of poverty. This was owing to the dependence to which their indigence had ſubjected them on their firſt arrival. Unable as they were to procure the neceſſary implements for the fiſhery, they had borrowed ſome at an exceſſive intereſt. Even thoſe who were not reduced to this neceſſity, were ſoon obliged to ſubmit to the hard terms of borrowing. The dearneſs of ſalt and proviſions, together with the fiſhings that turned out ill, drove them to it in a ſhort time, and they ſank under the diſtreſs of paying twenty or five and twenty *per cent.* a year for every thing they borrowed. Such is one of the ſeveral hardſhips that attend an inequality of ſtations in life, that a man who was not born to a fortune, can hardly ever acquire one but by violence or fraud, the means by which the moſt opulent families have amaſſed their riches. Even commerce can but barely ſupply their place by induſtry and aſſiduous labour. But all the French colonies of New France were not doomed to languiſh in this deplorable ſtate.

Settlement of the French in the iſland of St. John.

THE iſland of St. John, more favourably ſituated, has been kinder to its inhabitants. It lies further up the gulph of St. Lawrence, is twenty-two leagues long, and not much above a league broad in the wideſt part. It bends in the form of a creſcent, both ends terminating in a ſharp point. Though the property of this iſland had never been diſputed with France, yet that crown appeared to deſpiſe it till the peace of Utrecht. The loſs of Acadia and Newfoundland made them turn their views to this ſmall

BOOK XVI.

remaining ſpot, and the government began to inquire what uſe could be made of it.

It appeared that the winters were long, the cold extreme with abundance of ſnow, and prodigious quantities of inſects; but that a healthy coaſt, an excellent ſea-port, and commodious harbours, made amends for theſe defects. The country was flat, and enriched with fine paſtures, watered by an infinite number of rivulets and ſprings; the ſoil exceedingly diverſified, and fit for the culture of every kind of grain: there was plenty of game, and multitudes of wild beaſts; amazing ſhoals of fiſh of all ſorts; and a greater number of ſavage inhabitants than were found on any of the other iſlands. This circumſtance alone was a proof how much it was ſuperior to the reſt.

The report of this in France, gave riſe to a company in 1719, ſet on foot with the double view of clearing this fertile iſland, and of eſtabliſhing a great cod fiſhery there. Unfortunately, intereſt which had brought the adventurers together, divided them again, before ever they had begun putting their deſign in execution. St. John was again forgotten, when the Acadians began to remove to that iſland in 1749. In proceſs of time they increaſed to the number of 3154. As they were for the moſt part huſbandmen, and particularly accuſtomed to the breeding of cattle, the government thought proper to fix them to this kind of buſineſs; and the cod fiſhery was only allowed to be carried on, by thoſe who ſettled at Tracadia, and at St. Peter.

Prohibitions and monopolies, whilſt they are a check upon induſtry, are equally detrimental to the labours they permit, and to thoſe they prohibit. Though the iſland of St. John does not afford a ſufficient extent of ſea ſhore, fit for drying the vaſt quantities of cod that come in ſhoals

to

to the coasts, and though the fish is too large to be easily dried, yet it was incumbent upon a power whose fisheries are not sufficient for the consumption of its own subjects, to encourage this kind of employment. If there were too few drying places for the quantity that could be caught, they could easily prepare what they call green cod, which alone would have made an excellent branch of commerce.

By confining the settlers of St. John to agriculture, they were deprived of all resource in those unlucky years too common on the island, when the crops are devoured by the field mice and grasshoppers. They made no advantage of the exchanges which the mother country could and ought to have made with her colony. Lastly, in wanting to favour agriculture, they obstructed its progress, by laying the inhabitants under an impossibility of procuring the necessary articles for extending it.

Only one small vessel or two came annually to the island from Europe, and landed at port La Joie, where they were supplied with all they wanted from Louisbourg, and paid for it in wheat, barley, oats, pulse, black cattle and sheep. A party of fifty men served rather as a guard to their police, than a defence to them. Their commanding officer was dependent on Cape Breton, which was itself under the controul of the governor of Canada. The command of this last officer extended to a great distance, over a vast continent, the richest part of which was Louisiana.

Discovery of the Mississippi by the French.

This province, which the Spaniards formerly comprehended under the name of Florida, was not discovered by the French till the year 1673. They were told by the savages, that to the west of Canada, there was a great river, which flowed neither to the north nor to the east, and they concluded that it must therefore empty itself into

BOOK XVI.

the gulph of Mexico, if its courſe were ſouthward, or into the ſouth ſea, if it were weſtward. The communication with theſe two ſeas was of ſuch importance, as to deſerve ſome enquiry. This undertaking was committed to Joliet, an inhabitant of Quebec, a man of ſenſe and experience, and to the jeſuit Marquette, whoſe virtues were reſpected by all the nations inhabiting that continent.

THESE two men, whoſe intentions were equally honeſt, always lived in the moſt friendly intimacy with each other. They went both together from the lake Michigan, entered the river of the Foxes, which empties into that lake, and went up almoſt to the head of the river, notwithſtanding the currents which render that navigation difficult. After ſome days march, they again embarked on the river Ouisconſing, and keeping always weſtward, they came to the Miſſiſippi, and ſailed down that river as far as the Akanſas, about the 33d degree of latitude. Their zeal would have carried them further, but they were in want of proviſions. It would have been imprudent to have ventured too far, with only three or four men, in an unknown country; and beſides, they were convinced that this river ran into the gulph of Mexico, and they returned therefore to Canada. When they entered the river of the Illinois, they found theſe people pretty numerous, and inclined to a friendly intercourſe with our nation. Without concealing or exaggerating any particular, they communicated to the chief man of the colony all the information they had got.

AMONGST the inhabitants of New France at that time, was a Norman, named La Salle, who was impelled both by the deſire of making a great fortune, and of eſtabliſhing a brilliant reputation. This man had ſpent his younger years among the Jeſuits, where he had contracted that activity

activity, that enthuſiaſm, that reſolute ſpirit, which thoſe fathers ſo well know how to inſtil into their diſciples, when they meet with young men of quick parts, with whom they are fond of recruiting their order. La Salle, ready to ſeize all opportunities of ſignalizing himſelf, wiſhing even to create them, a daring and enterpriſing man, ſaw that the new governor of Canada did not think of improving the diſcovery that had been made. He embarked for Europe, went to the court of Verſailles, was attended to, almoſt even with admiration, at a time when both the prince and the people were inſpired with a paſſion for great actions. He came back loaded with favours, and with orders to complete what had been ſo fortunately begun.

However, the better to inſure ſucceſs, he took care not to precipitate matters. The diſtance was conſiderable from the furtheſt French ſettlements in Canada to the banks of the river they were going to reconnoitre. Prudence required that they ſhould ſecure that tract. He began, therefore, by erecting ſeveral poſts, which took up more time than he imagined, becauſe the works were often interrupted by unforeſeen incidents. When time and caution had brought all things to the point he wiſhed, he ſailed down the Miſſiſippi in 1682, and found that it ran into the gulph of Mexico, as had been before conjectured.

This was a great point gained. La Salle, who well knew what remained to be done, haſtened back to Quebec, and went over to France, to propoſe the diſcovery of the Miſſiſippi by ſea, and the eſtabliſhment of a colony, which could not fail of being a very important one. His ſcheme gained credit, and he obtained four ſhips of different rates, with about 150 men. He miſſed the ſpot by ſteering too far weſtward, and on the 10th of January

BOOK XVI.

1685, found himſelf in the bay of St. Bernard, diſtant a hundred leagues from the Miſſiſippi. This error might have been rectified; but La Salle, who was of a haughty and unſociable temper, had quarrelled with the commander of his little fleet, and as he did not chuſe to lay himſelf under that obligation to him, he diſmiſſed him; and prepoſſeſſed with a notion that the river he had entered could be nothing more than an arm of the great one which he was commiſſioned to reconnoitre, he imagined he could complete the undertaking by himſelf. But being ſoon undeceived, he loſt ſight of his miſſion. It is ſaid that inſtead of looking for guides among the ſavages, who would have directed him to his deſtination, he choſe to go nearer the Spaniards, and inform himſelf of the famous mines of St. Barbe. He was wholly taken up with this abſurd project, when he was murdered by ſome of his companions, who could no longer put up with his ill-treatment, obſtinacy, and unſufferable pride.

THE death of the leader diſperſed the aſſociates. The villains who had murdered him, fell by each other's hand. Several incorporated with the natives. Many periſhed by hunger and fatigue. The Spaniards of New Mexico, alarmed at the report of this undertaking, had croſſed the country, and meeting with theſe fugitives, took ſome of them, and ſent them to work in the mines, where they ended their days. Thoſe who had ſhut themſelves up in the little fort they had erected, fell into the hands of the ſavages. Only ſeven men eſcaped, who embarked on the Miſſiſippi, which they had at laſt diſcovered by land, and came to Canada. Theſe misfortunes blotted out the remembrance of Louiſiana in France.

THE attention of the miniſtry was again rouzed in 1697, by d'Yberville, a gentleman of Canada, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſome exceeding bold and fortunate ſtrokes

ſtrokes at Hudſon's bay, in Acadia and Newfoundland. He was ſent out from Rochefort with two ſhips, and he entered the Miſſiſippi on the 2d of July 1699. He ſailed up the river high enough to be convinced by his own inſpection of the beauty and fertility of its banks. He contented himſelf, however, with erecting a ſmall fort, which did not long continue, and proceeded to another ſpot to ſettle his little colony, chiefly conſiſting of Canadians.

The French ſettle in the country that is watered by the Miſſiſippi, and call it Louiſiana.

BETWEEN the mouth of the Miſſiſippi and Penſacola, a ſettlement newly erected by the Spaniards in Florida, is a coaſt of about forty leagues in extent. It is every where ſo flat, that trading ſhips cannot come within four leagues of the ſhore, or even the lighteſt brigs within two leagues. The ſoil, which is entirely ſandy, is equally unfit for culture and the breeding of cattle. Nothing grows there but a few ſcattered cedars and fir trees. The climate is ſo exceedingly hot, when the rays of the ſun have fallen upon theſe ſands, that in ſome ſeaſons the heat would be intolerable, were it not for a light breeze, which ſprings up regularly at nine or ten in the morning, and never falls but in the evening. In this great ſpace, there is a place called Biloxi, from the name of a ſavage nation, that formerly made ſome ſtay there. This ſituation, the moſt barren and moſt inconvenient upon the whole coaſt, was made choice of, to fix the few men d'Yberville had brought thither, and who had been allured by the moſt ſanguine expectations.

Two years after, a freſh colony arrived, and was placed thirteen leagues to the eaſt of Biloxi, not far from Penſacola. The banks of the Mobile, which is no where navigable but for boats, though rather a long river, were judged to be worth inhabiting. The poorneſs of the grounds, was not thought a ſufficient objection. It was determined that the connections they would form with the

BOOK XVI.

the Spaniards and neighbouring Indians, would compenſate all theſe diſadvantages. An iſland ſituated oppoſite to the Mobile, at a diſtance of four leagues, offered a harbour, which might be conſidered as the ſea port of the new colony. It was named the Iſle of Dauphin. It was perfectly convenient for unloading the French goods, which till then they had been obliged to ſend aſhore in boats. This iſland, though a barren one, was ſoon peopled, and became the chief ſettlement of the colony; till the winds which had formed it with ſands, heaped them up to ſuch a degree in the year 1717, as to deprive it of the only advantage that had given it ſome kind of reputation.

It could not reaſonably be expected that a colony fixed upon ſuch a territory ſhould make any progreſs. The death of Yberville, who periſhed glorioufly before the Havanna in 1702, at ſea in the ſervice of his country, put an end to the ſmall remaining hopes of the coloniſts. France was ſo deeply engaged in an unhappy war, that no aſſiſtance could be expected from that quarter. They all thought themſelves totally forſaken; and thoſe who entertained ſome hopes of finding a ſettlement elſewhere, haſtened to go in queſt of it. The few whom neceſſity compelled to ſtay behind, ſubſiſted upon vegetables, or lived by excurſions amongſt the Indians. The colony was reduced to twenty-eight families each completely miſerable, when Croſat petitioned for and obtained the excluſive trade of Louiſiana in 1712.

Croſat was one of thoſe men, who was born for great undertakings, he poſſeſſed that ſuperiority of talents and ſentiments which enabled him to undertake the greateſt actions, and condeſcend to the leaſt for the ſervice of the ſtate, and wiſhed to derive all his fame from the glory of his country. The ſoil of Louiſiana was not the object of this

this active genius. He could not be ignorant of its barrenneſs nor did it ever appear that he had any thoughts of attempting to improve it. His intention was to open communications both by land and ſea with old and new Mexico, to pour in all kinds of merchandiſe into thoſe parts, and to draw from thence a vaſt quantity of piaſtres. The conceſſion he had aſked for, appeared to him to be the natural and neceſſary mart for his vaſt operations; and all the ſteps taken by his agents were regulated upon this noble plan. But being undeceived by ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, he relinquiſhed his ſcheme, and in 1717, was glad to reſign his privilege to a company whoſe ſucceſs aſtoniſhed the whole world.

Louiſiana becomes very famous in the time of Lewis's ſyſtem.

THIS company was ſet on foot by Law, that celebrated Scotchman, of whom no ſettled judgment could be formed at the time he appeared, but whoſe name now ſtands between the crowd of mere adventurers and the ſhort liſt of great men. This daring genius had made it his buſineſs from his infancy to obſerve attentively the ſeveral powers of Europe, to examine their ſeveral ſprings, and to calculate the ſtrength of each. He was ſingularly ſtruck with the confuſion into which the ambition of Lewis XIV. had thrown the kingdom of France. He thought the unravelling of this chaos was a taſk worthy of him, and flattered himſelf he could accompliſh it. The very greatneſs of his plan could not fail of recommending it to the regent, who held the reins of government, ſince the demiſe of the monarch has reſtored peace to Europe. The ſcheme was, by ſpeedily paying off the national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous intereſts which abſorbed it. The introduction of paper credit could alone effect this revolution, which the exigencies of the times ſeemed abſolutely to require. The public creditors came into this novelty the more readily, as they

BOOK XVI.

they knew they might at any time change these notes for shares in the company. The company, on the other hand, could not fail of means to answer so many engagements; since, independent of the produce of the taxes, which was to center in their hands, as being a company of finance, they had a new channel as a commercial company, through which immense riches were expected to come in.

SINCE the Spaniard, Ferdinand de Soto, had perished on the banks of the Missisippi, about the year 1538, an opinion had prevailed that those regions contained immense treasures. It was a matter of doubt where these riches were situated; but still the celebrated mines of St. Barbe were talked of with rapture. If they seemed for a time forgotten, it was only to make them again be attended to with the greater eagerness. Law availed himself of this credulity, and took care to feed and increase it by mysterious reports. It was rumoured as a secret that these and many other mines had at last been found out, but that they were far richer than fame had represented them. To give the greater weight to this falsehood, which had already gained too much credit, a number of workmen were sent over to work these supposed valuable mines with troops to support them.

IT is inconceivable what a sudden impression this stratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty. All men were possessed with an inordinate desire of having shares in the new company. Every speculation, scheme and expectation was directed to this channel. The Missisippi became the grand object and the ultimate end of all pursuits. The adventurers were not content with a bare association with the company which had obtained the disposal of that fine country. They were applied to from all quarters for large tracts of land for plan-

plantations, which, it was given out, were to yield in a few years the centuple of what ſhould be laid out upon them. Whatever was the motive, whether intereſt or conviction, or flattery, thoſe who were accounted the moſt ſenſible men in the nation, the richeſt and the moſt eſteemed, were the moſt forward in forming theſe ſettlements. Others were drawn in by their example, and thoſe whoſe fortunes would not permit them to become proprietors, made intereſt to have the management of the plantations, or, at leaſt, to work in them.

During the heat of this ferment, all perſons who offered themſelves, whether natives or foreigners, were promiſcuouſly crowded into ſhips without any care. They were landed upon the ſands of the Biloxi, where they periſhed by thouſands, with want and vexation. They might have been carried up the Miſſiſippi, and landed immediately upon the country they were to clear; but it never once occurred to the managers of the enterprize, to ſend proper boats for that purpoſe. Even after they had found that the ſhips coming from Europe could ſail up the river, the head quarters ſtill continued to be the grave of thoſe ſad and numerous victims that had fallen a ſacrifice to a political impoſture. The head quarters were not removed to New Orleans till five years after, that is, till hardly any were left of thoſe unfortunate people who had been weak enough to quit their native country upon ſuch uncertain proſpects.

But at this late period, the charm was diſſolved, and the mines were vaniſhed. Nothing remained but the confuſion of having been miſled by chimerical notions. Louiſiana ſhared the fate of thoſe extraordinary men who have been too highly extolled, and are afterwards puniſhed for this unmerited fame, by debaſing them below their real worth. This inchanted country was now held in exe-

BOOK XVI.

execration. Its very name became a reproach. The Miſſiſippi was the terror of free men. No recruits were to be found to ſend thither, but ſuch as were taken from priſons and houſes of ill fame. It became the receptacle of the loweſt and moſt profligate perſons in the kingdom.

WHAT could be expected from an edifice made up of ſuch materials? Vicious men will neither people a country, nor work, nor fix themſelves. Many of the wretches who had been tranſported into theſe ſavage climates went and exhibited the loathſome ſpectacle of their wretchedneſs, in the Engliſh or Spaniſh ſettlements. Others periſhed ſpeedily by the poiſon they were tainted with before they left Europe. The greater number wandered miſerably about the woods, till hunger and wearineſs put an end to their exiſtence. Nothing was yet begun in the colony, though twenty-five millions (c) of livres had been ſunk there. The managers of the company that advanced theſe enormous ſums, ridiculouſly pretended that in the capital of France they could lay the plan of the undertakings that were fit for America. Paris, which is not even acquainted with its own provinces, which it deſpiſes and drains, wanted to ſubmit every thing to the operations of theſe haſty and frivolous calculators. From the company's office, they pretended to regulate and direct every inhabitant of Louiſiana, and to impoſe ſuch clogs and fetters as ſhould all turn out to the advantage of the monopoly. Had they granted ſome trifling encouragements to reputable ſettlers, who might have been allured into the colony, by ſecuring to them that liberty which every man covets, that property which every man has a right to expect from his own labour, and that protection which is due from every ſociety to its members; ſuch encouragements, given to proprietors directed by local

(c) 1,093,750*l.*

local circumſtances, and enlightened by ſelf-intereſt, would have been productive of far greater and more laſting effects, more extenſive, ſolid and profitable ſettlements, than any the company could ever make with all their treaſures, diſpenſed and managed by agents who could neither have all the knowledge requiſite to conduct ſo many various operations, nor even be actuated by any immediate intereſt in the ſucceſs.

YET the miniſtry thought it conducive to the welfare of the ſtate, to leave the concerns of Louiſiana in the hands of the company; which was under a neceſſity of exerting its utmoſt intereſt to obtain leave to alienate that part of its privilege. It was even obliged to purchaſe this favour in 1731, by paying down the ſum of 1,450,000 livres (d) for there are ſome ſtates where the right of being ruined, of extricating one's ſelf from deſtruction, and of enriching one's ſelf, are equally purchaſed; becauſe good or evil, whether public or private, may prove an object of finance. But after all, what was to become of this region, ſo much extolled, ſo much vilified, when it came to be in reality a national poſſeſſion?

Extent, climate, fertility, and original inhabitants of Louiſiana.

LOUISIANA is a vaſt country, bounded to the ſouth by the ſea; to the eaſt by Carolina; to the weſt by New Mexico; to the north by that part of Canada whoſe unknown lands are ſuppoſed to extend as far as Hudſon's bay. It is impoſſible to aſcertain the exact length of it; but it is thought to be about two hundred leagues broad, between the Engliſh and Spaniſh ſettlements.

IN ſo extenſive a country, the climate cannot be the ſame throughout. It was no where found to be ſuch as was expected from its latitude. Lower Louiſiana, though in the ſame degree as the coaſt of Barbary, is no hotter than the ſouth of France; and thoſe parts of it that are ſituated

(d) 63,437*l.* 10*s.*

BOOK XVI.

situated in the 35th and 36th degrees, are no warmer than the northern provinces of the mother country. This phœnomenon, which seems so extraordinary to a common observer, may be accounted for by a naturalist, from the thick forests which prevent the rays of the sun from heating the ground; the numberless rivers which keep it constantly damp; and the winds which blow from the north over a vast extent of land.

The sky is seldom clouded; the sun, which gives life to every thing, shining almost every day. It rains very little, and never except in heavy showers; but plentiful dews supply the place of rain with advantage.

The air in general is pure, but much more so in upper than in lower Louisiana. In this happy climate, the women are blessed with a pleasing figure, and the men are less subject to disorders in the vigour of life, and have fewer infirmities in old age than the Europeans.

Before the nature of the soil had been tried, it must have been imagined to be excellent. It abounded with wild fruits, very pleasant to the taste. It supplied a great number of birds and wild beasts with copious subsistence. The meadows, formed by nature alone, were covered with roebucks and bisons. Perhaps, there are no trees upon the earth to be compared with those of Louisiana for height, variety and thickness. If it afforded no woods for dying, it is because none will grow anywhere except between the tropics. Since the soil has been tried in several districts, it has been found to be fit for all kinds of culture.

The head of that famous river which divides this immense country from north to south almost in two equal parts, has never yet been discovered. The boldest travellers have not gone higher up than about a hundred leagues above the fall of St. Anthony, which interrupts its

its courſe by a pretty high caſcade, about the 40th degree of latitude. From thence to the ſea, that is, for the ſpace of about 700 leagues, the navigation is no where interrupted. The Miſſiſippi flows unobſtructed into the ocean, after being enlarged by the river of the Illinois, the Miſſouri, the Wabache, and a great number of leſſer rivers. Every thing concurs to ſhew that this river has enlarged its bed by near a hundred leagues, conſiſting of new made ground, as not a ſingle ſtone is to be found in it. The ſea, throwing up again that prodigious quantity of mud, leaves of reeds, boughs and ſtumps of trees, which the Miſſiſippi is continually waſhing down; all theſe materials, puſhed backward and forward, collect and bind themſelves into a ſolid maſs, which continually tends to the prolongation of this vaſt continent. Another and ſtill more ſtriking ſingularity, which, perhaps, is no where elſe to be met with, is that the waters of this great river, when once they are got out of its bed, never return into it again. The reaſon is this.

The Miſſiſippi is annually ſwelled by the melting of the ſnows in the north, which begins in March, and continues for about three months. The river lies very deep at the upper part, and does not overflow on the eaſt ſide till it comes within ſixty leagues of the ſea, nor on the weſt ſide till within a hundred leagues; that is to ſay, on the low lands which we imagine to be new ground. Theſe muddy grounds, like all others that have not yet acquired their due conſiſtence, bear a prodigious quantity of large reeds, which ſtop and entangle all extraneous bodies that are waſhed down the river. The collection of all theſe fragments, with the ſlime that fills up the interſtices, in proceſs of time raiſes the banks higher than the adjacent ground; ſo that the waters, once overflowed,

BOOK XVIII.

ed, are prevented by this obſtacle from the poſſibility of returning into their former channels; and are, therefore, compelled to force an outlet for themſelves into the ſea, by gliding through the ſands.

When we conſider only the breadth and depth of the Miſſiſippi, we are apt to think the navigation of it muſt be eaſy; but this is a miſtake. It is very tedious, even in coming down, becauſe it would be dangerous to continue it by night in dark weather, and becauſe the light canoes made of bark, which are ſo convenient on all other rivers, are not ſufficient upon this. It requires larger boats which are conſequently heavier, and not ſo eaſily managed. Without theſe precautions, as the river is always full of trees that fall from its own banks, or float into it from other rivers, the boats would be in continual danger of ſtriking againſt the boughs or roots of ſome tree lying under water. The difficulties are greater ſtill in going up.

At a certain diſtance from land, before we enter the Miſſiſippi, we muſt take care to keep clear of the floating wood that is come down from Louiſiana. The coaſt is ſo flat, that one can hardly ſee it at the diſtance of two leagues, and it is not eaſy to come at it. The river has a great many mouths, they are continually ſhifting, and moſt of them are very ſhallow. When a veſſel has happily ſurmounted all theſe obſtacles, ſhe may ſail up quietly enough for ten or eleven leagues, through an open and ſandy country. We then meet with ſuch thick foreſts on each ſide, that they wholly intercept the winds. Such a dead calm prevails, that it commonly takes up a month to get through a ſpace of twenty leagues; and this is not to be done but by ſucceſſively faſtening the cordage to ſome great tree. The difficulty is increaſed in getting beyond the foreſt, which terminates at the turn belonging

to

to the Engliſh, by a creſcent that ſhuts almoſt cloſe. The reſt of the navigation, upon ſuch a rapid ſtream, and ſo full of currents, is performed in boats that go with oars and ſails, and are forced to croſs from point to point; and when they ſet out by break of day, have made a conſiderable progreſs, if they have only advanced five or ſix leagues by the cloſe of the evening. The Europeans who have entered upon this navigation, take along with them ſome Indian huntſmen, who follow by land, and ſupply them with ſubſiſtence during the three months and a half that are employed in going from one extremity of the colony to the other.

THESE are the only difficulties the French have met with in forming their ſettlements on the vaſt region of Louiſiana. The Engliſh, ſettled in the eaſt, were too aſſiduouſly engaged in their own cultures, to neglect them for the ſake of ravaging diſtant regions, and have ſeldom ſucceeded in ſeducing, even for a ſhort time, the ſmall wandering nations between the two colonies. The Spaniards, unfortunately for themſelves, were more turbulent to the weſt. The deſire of getting rid of a neighbour whoſe reſtleſs diſpoſition might one day be prejudicial to them in New Mexico, induced them in 1720 to form the plan of a ſettlement far beyond the lands which till then had terminated their boundaries. The numerous caravans that were to compoſe this new colony, ſet out from Santa Fé, with all the requiſites for a permanent habitation. They directed their march towards the Ozages, whom they wanted to induce to join with them in extirpating an indigenous nation, who were neighbours and enemies to the Ozages, and whoſe territory they intended to occupy. The Spaniards accidentally miſſed their way, and went directly to that very nation whoſe ruin they were meditating; and miſtaking

BOOK XVI.

these Indians for the Ozages, opened their purpose without reserve.

The chief of the Missourys, being informed by this singular mistake of the danger that threatened him and his people, dissembled his resentment. He told them he would gladly concur in the success of their undertaking, and only desired they would allow him two days to assemble his warriors. When they were armed to the number of two thousand, they fell upon the Spaniards, whom they had amused with feasting, and dancing, and whom they found fast asleep, and massacred them all, without distinction of age or sex. The chaplain alone escaped the slaughter, and he owed his preservation to the singularity of his dress. This catastrophe having secured the tranquility of Louisiana, on the side where it was most threatened, it could only be molested by the natives; but these were not much to be feared.

These savages were divided into several nations, none of them very populous, and all at enmity with each other, though separated by immense deserts. Most of them had a fixed abode, and almost all worshipped the sun. Their houses were made of nothing but leaves twisted together, and stretched upon a number of stakes. Those who did not go quite naked, were only covered with the skins of wild beasts. They lived upon the produce of hunting and fishing, upon maize, and some spontaneous fruits. Their customs were nearly the same as those of the savages of Canada, but they possessed a lesser degree of strength and courage, of quickness and sagacity; and their character was less marked. Without considering the natural causes, which might contribute to this difference, the savages of Louisiana were under the dominion of chiefs, who exercised almost an absolute authority over them.

Amongst

AMONGST theſe nations, the only one that drew any kind of attention, was that of the Natches. They obeyed one man, who ſtiled himſelf the ſun; becauſe he bore upon his breaſt the image of that luminary, from which he claimed his deſcent. The police, war, religion, all depended upon him. The whole univerſe could not, perhaps, have produced ſo complete a deſpot. The wife of this ſun, as he was called, was inveſted with as much authority as himſelf. When any one of theſe enſlaved ſavages had the misfortune to have diſpleaſed either of his maſters, they would ſay to their guards, *Rid me of that dog*, and they were inſtantly obeyed. All labour was undertaken in common, and entirely for the benefit of the ruler, who diſtributed the produce as he thought proper. When either he or his wife died, their guards never failed to kill themſelves, that they might attend and ſerve them in the next world. The religion of the Natches, with much the ſame tenets as that of other ſavages, had more outward ceremonies, and conſequently was attended with more miſchievous effects. Yet there was but one temple for the whole nation. It happened that this temple once caught fire, and the conſternation was general. They tried in vain to ſtop the progreſs of the flames. Some mothers threw their children in, and at laſt the fire was extinguiſhed. The next day theſe barbarous heroines were extolled in a diſcourſe delivered by the deſpotic pontiff. It is thus that his authority was maintained. It is aſtoniſhing how ſo poor and ſo ſavage a nation could be ſo cruelly enſlaved. But ſuperſtition accounts for all the unreaſonable actions of men. That alone could rob a nation of its liberty, which had little elſe to loſe.

YET the country inhabited by the Natches, on the banks of the Miſſiſippi, was pleaſant and fertile. It drew the attention of the firſt Frenchmen who ſailed up the

BOOK XVI.

river. Far from oppoſing their intention of ſettling there, theſe people aſſiſted them in it. Reciprocal and beneficial exchanges laid the foundation of a laſting friendſhip between the two nations. It might have proved ſo, had not the avidity of the Europeans weakened the connection. The ſtrangers at firſt deſired only to agree for the productions of the country. Afterwards, they ſet their own price upon them. At laſt they found it would be more convenient to have them for nothing. Their audacity grew to ſuch a pitch as to drive away the old inhabitants from the fields they had cleared.

THIS tyranny provoked the ſavages. In vain they had recourſe to intreaties, and to force. Every thing was either ineffectual or proved fatal to them. Theſe repeated provocations at laſt engaged them to endeavour to ſtir up all the eaſtern nations, whoſe diſpoſitions they were acquainted with; and towards the latter end of the year 1729, they ſucceeded in forming an univerſal league, the purport of which was to aſſaſſinate all the oppreſſors at the ſame inſtant. As the art of writing was unknown to the confederate nations, they agreed to count a certain number of bits of wood that each was to keep. One of theſe was to be burnt every day, and the laſt was to be the ſignal for the maſſacre.

THE wife of the great chief was informed of the plot, by a ſon ſhe had by a Frenchman. She mentioned it three or four times to the French commanding officer in the neighbourhood, and acquainted him with all the particulars. This intelligence was diſregarded; but ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her reſolution of ſaving theſe ſtrangers, whom love had as it were naturalized in her heart. Though ſhe intereſted herſelf ſo warmly for the whole nation merely from affection to the French ſettled in her own town, yet ſhe determined to ſave thoſe ſhe had never

never ſeen, even at the peril of thoſe ſhe was acquainted with. Her dignity of wife of the ſun, giving her free acceſs to the temple, where the bits of wood were depoſited, ſhe took away one or more of them every day, at the hazard of haſtening the deſtruction of her neighbours, ſince this was neceſſary, in order to inſure the ſafety of the reſt. Every thing happened as ſhe expected. The Natches, on the day indicated by the ſignal agreed upon, not doubting but all their allies were at that inſtant perpetrating the ſame tragical ſcene, roſe upon the French, and deſtroyed them; but as the bits of wood had not been ſtolen from the other conſpirators, all remained quiet; and this circumſtance alone ſaved the riſing colony. In caſe of a ſurprize, they had nothing to oppoſe to ſo many enemies, but a few rotten pales, badly defended by a handful of undiſciplined vagabonds, almoſt unarmed. BOOK XVI.

But Perrier, in whom the authority was veſted, did not loſe that preſence of mind which courage inſpires. The leſs he was able to reſiſt, the more haughtineſs he affected. Theſe appearances had ſuch an effect, that either for fear of being ſuſpected, or in hopes of pardon, many of the conſpirators joined with him to deſtroy the Natches. That nation was put to the ſword, their houſes were burnt, and no remains of them were left but the place they had formerly filled.

Some ſcattered relics, however, of this unfortunate people, who happened to be at a diſtance from the center of their dominions, had time to take refuge amongſt the Chichaſaws, the moſt intrepid nation in Louiſiana. They had entered into the league againſt the French, more vehemently than the reſt; their undaunted and generous ſpirit made the laws of hoſpitality inviolable among all ſavages ſtill more ſacred to them; ſo that no perſon dared

BOOK XVI.

at firſt to propoſe to them to deliver up the Natches, to whom they had afforded refuge. But Bienville, who ſoon after ſucceeded Perrier, had the boldneſs to demand that thoſe fugitives ſhould be given up. The Indians had the courage to refuſe; and he immediately ſent out all the troops of the colony againſt them in 1736. They formed two ſeparate corps; one was repulſed with great loſs before the principal fort of the Chickaſaws; the other was totally defeated in the open field. A ſecond attempt was made four years after to ſubdue them with freſh forces from Europe and Canada. The French arms were as unſucceſsful as before, till ſome fortunate incidents brought on an accommodation with the Indians. Since that period, nothing has diſturbed the repoſe of Louiſiana. We ſhall now ſee to what pitch of proſperity this long peace has raiſed the colony.

What the French have done in Louiſiana.

THE coaſts of Louiſiana, which are all ſituated on the gulph of Mexico, are in general flat, often overflowed, and every where covered with fine ſand, as white as ſnow, and entirely barren. They are uninhabited and uninhabitable. No forts have ever been erected there, becauſe there is no poſſibility of invading or making a deſcent upon them. The French have formed no ſettlements on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi. Indeed, in 1721, they had ſome deſigns on the bay of St. Barnard; but they miſcarried by the neglect of the officer who was intruſted with the execution of them. Inſtead of obeying the orders that had been given him, he entered the river Magdalena, which he met with in his way, ſailed five or ſix leagues up it, carried off a few ſavages, and returned to the place from whence he came. The next year, when they attempted to repair this error, they found the port occupied by ſome Spaniards from Vera Cruz.

To

To the eaſt of the Miſſiſippi ſtands fort Mobile, on the banks of the river of the ſame name, the courſe of which extends no leſs than one hundred and thirty leagues. It is intended as a check upon the Chactaws, the Alibamous, and ſome other leſſer tribes, to keep them to their alliance with France, and to ſecure their fur trade. The Spaniards of Penſacola buy up ſome proviſions and merchandiſe at this ſettlement.

THERE are a great number of outlets at the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, but they are very uncertain. Many of them are often dry. Some will only admit boats and canoes. Only one of them can receive ſhips of five hundred tons burthen. On the channel through which they muſt ſail, a kind of citadel is built, which is called La Baliſe. Twenty leagues higher up are two forts which guard both ſides of the river, and defend it from all attacks. Though they are in themſelves but indifferent, they would be more than ſufficient to oppoſe the paſſage of a hundred ſhips, more eſpecially as only one ſhip could come in at a time, and even that could neither caſt anchor, nor come to a mooring at that place.

NEW ORLEANS is the firſt ſettlement that preſents itſelf. It is thirty leagues diſtant from the ſea. It was begun in 1717, but acquired no firmneſs till 1722, when it became the chief place of the colony. Then it was that the plan of a handſome city was traced out, which has ſince riſen by ſlow degrees. The ſtreets are all ſtraight, and croſs each other at right angles. They form ſixty-five iſlets, each containing fifty toiſes ſquare, which are divided into twelve parcels of ground for as many inhabitants to build upon. The huts which formerly covered this great ſpace are now exchanged for commodious houſes moſtly built with brick. They are all ſurrounded with canals, which communicate with each other. This was thought

BOOK XVI.

thought to be a neceſſary precaution againſt the floods. This city, intended to be the center of all the intercourſe between the mother country and the colony, was built on the eaſt ſide of the river. The landing is ſo eaſy that the largeſt ſhips need only make a little bridge with planks in order to unload their goods. But when the waters are out, it is neceſſary they ſhould haſten their departure, becauſe the quantity of wood that floats down the river at that time would accumulate in the anchoring place, and would cut the largeſt cables aſunder.

An almoſt uninterrupted ſtring of habitations runs along both ſides of the river. Below new Orleans, they extend but five leagues, and are not very conſiderable. Lower down, the land grows narrower, and becomes leſs to the ſea ſide. Upon this ſlip of land, nothing is to be ſeen but ſands and marſhes unfit to ſhelter man, and only intended for water fowls and Moſchettoes. The plantations up the Miſſiſippi, reach ten leagues above the town. The moſt diſtant have been cleared by Germans, whoſe indefatigable labour has erected two villages, inhabited by the moſt laborious men in the colony. All along theſe fifteen leagues of cultivated ground, the river, has been imbanked, to preſerve the lands from the inundations, which return regularly every ſpring. This bank is preſerved by broad ditches, cut round every field, to drain off the waters, which might otherwiſe overthrow this dike.

Throughout the whole ſpace, the ſoil is very muddy, and extremely proper for productions that require a moiſt ſituation. When they want to till the freſh ground, they firſt cut down the great reeds with which it is overrun. As ſoon as they are dry, they ſet fire to them. Then if the earth is but ever ſo lightly ſtirred up, it produces great plenty of rice, Indian corn, and all ſorts of grain, pulſe

or

or other vegetables, that are ſown upon it, except wheat, which runs to graſs from the too great luxuriancy of the ſoil.

Possibly the inhabitants, which are ſcattered along the banks of the river, might have been more judiciouſly placed four or five hundred paces further off, or even at the diſtance of half a league, upon ſome little eminences, which are very common near that ſpot. A more pure air and a ſolid bottom would have been found there, and, probably, wheat would have ſucceeded, when the woods had been cleared. Nothing would have been equal to the fertility of the grounds, if left open to the annual inundation of the river; becauſe the waters, as they ſubſided, would conſtantly have enriched them with a freſh ſupply of ſlime, which would have greatly promoted vegetation. In proceſs of time, nothing would have been ſeen on both ſides of the Miſſiſippi but extenſive paſtures covered with innumerable flocks and herds; a range of gardens, orchards, and plantations of rice, ſufficient for a numerous population. This glorious proſpect might have been carried on from New Orleans, all over lower Louiſiana; and thus a ſecond France would have appeared in America.

Instead of this delightful proſpect, ten leagues above New Orleans, begins an immenſe deſert, where nothing is to be ſeen but two wretched towns, inhabited by ſavages; and this deſert extends for the ſpace of thirty leagues, after which we arrive at the ſpot that is called Pointe Coupée, which is the work of European induſtry. In this place the Miſſiſippi formerly took a large ſweep. Some Frenchmen, by digging into a rivulet that ran behind a point of land, brought the waters of the river into it. They flowed with ſuch impetuoſity into this new channel, that they completed the cutting off of the point,

BOOK XVI.

point, and by this circumſtance fourteen leagues of the navigation have been ſaved. The old bed of the river was ſoon dry, and in a ſhort time was covered with ſuch large trees as aſtoniſhed all who had ſeen them ſpring up. This happy change gave life, ſtability and fame to one of the beſt ſettlements in thoſe parts.

The inhabitants, ſettled on both ſides of the river, have adorned their abodes with all kinds of European fruit-trees, none of which have degenerated. For their own conſumption they cultivate rice and maize, and for exportation cotton, and eſpecially tobacco. The ſale of their timber is likewiſe a profitable article.

Twenty leagues above the Pointe coupée, the Red river falls into the Miſſiſippi. The French have built a fort thirty-five leagues from the mouth of it. It was in the country of the Natſitoches that this foundation of power and commerce was laid. The plan was to convey into the colony through this channel the gold and ſilver of New Mexico, which had already circulated near the ſpot. But theſe hopes were fruſtrated by the poverty of the inhabitants, and the little intercourſe they had with richer places. The only advantage reaped from that neighbourhood was that it ſupplied oxen, and horſes which were not to be had in Louiſiana. Since they have been multiplied there, ſo as to want no ſupplies from abroad, that poſt which was not founded upon the ſyſtem of agriculture, has continually degenerated; and this loſs is the more to be lamented, as the colony of the Natches is ſtill more in a ſtate of decay.

Its ſituation, which is at a hundred and ten leagues from the ſea, was the moſt favorable that Yberville could meet with in ſailing up the river. He ſaw no finer ſpot, on which to fix the capital of the intended colony. All who viewed it after him, were equally delighted with the ad-

advantages it presented. The climate was healthy and temperate; the soil fit for tobacco, cotton, indigo, and every kind of culture; the ground high enough to be in no danger from the inundations; the country open, extensive, well watered, and within reach of every settlement that might be made. Its distance from the ocean was no impediment to the arrival of the ships. So fair a prospect had soon formed a colony of five hundred men, when their intolerable ambition occasioned their total destruction by the hands of the savages whom they had provoked. Those who came after to supply their place, and avenge their death, did not bring this settlement to any greater degree of prosperity, whether it was owing to negligence on their parts, or to their meeting with fresh difficulties.

A hundred and twenty leagues above the Natches, is the colony of the Akansas. It would have become very considerable, if the nine thousand Germans, raised in the Palatinate with a view to form it, had arrived there safe. They were an honest and industrious people; but they all perished before they got thither. The Canadians who fixed there in coming down the river, found a delightful climate, a fruitful soil, easy circumstances and tranquillity. As they had been accustomed to live with savages, they were not averse from marrying the daughters of the Akansas, and these alliances were attended with the happiest consequences. There never was the least coolness between the two nations which were united by these intermarriages, though so different from each other. They have lived in that state of commerce, and that intercourse of good offices, which the fluctuating situation of affairs required from time to time.

The like harmony, though in a lesser degree, subsists among the Illinois, who are three hundred leagues distant from

BOOK XVI.

from the Akanſas; for in America the ſeveral nations are not cloſe together as they are in Europe, and are but the more independent, both at home and abroad. They have no chiefs combined together to ſnatch them from or ſacrifice them to each other, and render them ſo miſerable, that it becomes a matter of indifference to them to which they belong. The nation of the Illinois, the moſt northern in Louiſiana, was continually beaten, and continually in danger of being deſtroyed by the Iroquois and other nations from the north, when the French arrived among them from Canada. Theſe Europeans, who were renowned for their valour in that part of the new continent, were welcomed and courted, as being able to make the beſt ſtand againſt an old and inveterate enemy. The ſtrangers have multiplied, ſo as to ſtock ſix conſiderable villages, whilſt the natives, who were formerly very populous, are now reduced to three towns, which do not contain above two thouſand ſouls in all. Both have forſaken the river which gave its name to the country, in order to ſettle on the more pleaſant and fertile banks of the Miſſiſippi, near the place where their own river falls into it. This ſettlement, the fertility of which it is impoſſible to exaggerate, is become the granary of the whole colony, and could furniſh it with plenty of corn, if it were peopled even as far as to the ſea. But it falls very ſhort of ſo proſperous a ſtate.

Never did Louiſiana in its greateſt ſplendour reckon more than five thouſand white people, including twelve hundred men who compoſed the military force of the colony. This inconſiderable population was diſperſed up and down the banks of the Miſſiſippi, in an extent of five hundred leagues, and ſupported by two or three bad forts conſtructed at different diſtances: yet it was not made up of that refuſe of Europe, which France had diſcharged

charged into America, at the time when the ſyſtem was eſtabliſhed. All thoſe wretches had periſhed fortunately without propagating the breed. The coloniſts of Louiſiana were ſtout hearty men, come from Canada, or diſbanded ſoldiers, who had wiſely preferred the labours of agriculture to a life of idleneſs, the frequent conſequence of pride and prejudice. Every ſettler received from the government, not only a piece of ground, with ſeed to ſow it, but likewiſe a gun, an ax, a mattock, a cow and calf, a cock and ſix hens, with wholeſome and plentiful proviſions for three years. Some officers and a few men of ſubſtance had improved theſe beginnings of population by conſiderable plantations, which employed ſix thouſand ſlaves.

But the fruit of their labour was very inconſiderable. The annual exports of the colony did not exceed 200,000 crowns.(*e*) They conſiſted of rice, planks, maize, and pulſe for the ſugar iſlands; cotton, indigo, tobacco and furs for the mother country.

What the French might have done in Louiſiana.

This eſtabliſhment, which ſeemed intended by nature for a capital ſettlement, would, probably, have proſpered, but for the original error of granting lands indiſcriminately to every perſon who applied for them. We ſhould not then have ſeen lonely plantations ſome hundreds of leagues apart; ſuch as would have been good eſtates in Europe, but were of no value when ſeparated by vaſt deſerts. Had the coloniſts fixed in a common center, they might have aſſiſted each other, and living under the ſame laws, have enjoyed all the advantages of a well-regulated ſociety. As population had increaſed, the lands would have been cleared to a greater extent. Inſtead of a few hordes of ſavages, we ſhould have ſeen a riſing colony,

(*e*) 26,250*l.*

BOOK XVI.

colony, which might in time have become a powerful nation, and procured infinite advantages to France.

This eſtabliſhment, which annually imports from abroad ſeventeen millions weight of tobacco, would eaſily have been ſupplied with that commodity from Louiſiana. Twelve or fifteen thouſand men, killed in the cultivation of it, would have provided this branch of conſumption for the whole kingdom. Such were the hopes the government entertained, when they ordered all the tobacco plantations in Guiana to be deſtroyed: convinced that the lands in that province were adapted to more important and richer cultures, and would produce neceſſary articles of greater conſequence, they thought it would be for the benefit both of the mother country and the colony, to ſecure to Louiſiana, then in its infant ſtate, a market for that production, which would more eaſily ſucceed and bring in greater returns, as it required leſs time, experience and expence. When Law, the projector of this undertaking, fell into diſcredit, his moſt rational ſchemes were laid aſide, and ſhared the ſame fate as thoſe which were merely the offspring of a diſordered imagination. The farmers of the revenue, who were gainers by this miſtake, omitted nothing to encourage it; and every patriot muſt be allowed to ſay, that this is not one of the leaſt miſchiefs the finance has done to the monarchy.

The wealth which tobacco would have poured into the colony, would have given ſome information reſpecting the utility of the ſpacious and beautiful meadows with which that country abounds. They would ſoon have been covered with cattle; their hides would have ſupplied the mother country with leather, without importing any from abroad, and their fleſh prepared and ſalted would have been diſpoſed of in the iſlands, inſtead of Iriſh beef.

Horſes

Horſes and mules, multiplying in the ſame proportion as the horned cattle, would have freed the French colonies from the dependence they have always been in upon the Engliſh and Spaniards for this neceſſary article.

When once they had begun, they would have proceeded from one branch of induſtry to another. They could not poſſibly avoid building ſhips, becauſe they had the materials at hand. The country was covered with wood fit for the hull, and the fir-trees that grew in great plenty along the coaſt, would have afforded maſts and tar. There was no want of oak for the planks, and if there had, it might have been ſupplied by cypreſs, which is leſs apt to ſplit, to bend or to break, and a little additional thickneſs might have compenſated for the want of ſtrength and hardneſs. They might have grown hemp for the ſails and rigging. Nothing, perhaps, need have been imported but iron; and it is even more than probable that there are iron mines in Louiſiana. It is likely that the government, encouraged by the ſucceſs of individuals, would ſoon have erected docks for ſhip-building, and ſtorehouſes ready for equipping and fitting out fleets in America.

The foreſts being felled for theſe purpoſes without any expence, and even with profit, the ground would have been laid open for corn, cotton, indigo, flax, or olive trees; and even ſilk might have been ſucceſsfully undertaken, when once the colony had been ſufficiently populous to attend to the culture of the mulberry tree, which has been found to thrive very well in this mild climate. In ſhort they might have made any thing of a poſſeſſion where the air is temperate, the ground even, freſh, and fertile, and which had not as yet been properly inhabited, but rather run over by a parcel of unſteady and unſkilful vagabonds.

BOOK XVI.

Had Louisiana been brought to that degree of perfection it was capable of, its entrance would soon have been made more accessible and more convenient, which might have been effected without any great expence by a constant attention. For this purpose it would have been sufficient to have stopped up all those useless passes, which are rather a hindrance than a help to navigation, and this might have been done with the floating trees that the river washes down. The whole force of the stream being thus confined to one channel, the river would have become deeper at its mouth, and, probably, the bar which almost shuts it up would have been removed. Then the largest ships might have sailed into the Mississippi with more ease and safety than the smallest do at present. After this, those thick forests that intercept the wind might have been felled, and the navigation up the river to New Orleans rendered less tedious. All the arts and advantages of every kind would have sprung up in a regular succession, to form a flourishing and vigorous colony in that spacious plain.

France cedes Louisiana to the Spaniards. Whether she had a right to do this?

But France overlooked all these advantages when she ceded that country, which alone could repair her former losses, and gave it up to Spain, to whom it could be nothing more than a burthen. It may, perhaps, for a long time remain a political problem, whether this cession was not alike detrimental to both crowns, who were both equally weakened by it; the one, in giving up what she ought to have retained, and the other in accepting what she could not keep. But in a moral light, may it not be considered as an illegal act thus to have sold or given away the members of the community to a foreign power? For what right has a prince to dispose of his subjects without their consent?

What

What becomes of the rights of the people, if all is due from the nation to the prince, and nothing from the prince to the nation? Are there then no rights but those of princes? These pretend to derive their power from God alone. This maxim is a contrivance of the clergy, who ſet kings above the people, only that they themſelves may command even kings in the name of the deity, and is no more than an iron chain, to bind a whole nation under the power of one man. It is no longer then a mutual tie of love and virtue, of intereſt and fidelity, that gives to one family the rule in the midſt of a ſociety.

But why ſhould authority wiſh to conceal its being derived from men? Kings are ſufficiently informed by nature, experience, hiſtory, and their own conſciouſneſs, that it is of the people they hold all they poſſeſs, whether conquered by arms, or acquired by treaty. As they receive from the people all the fruits of obedience, why ſhould they refuſe to accept from them all the rights of authority? Nothing is to be apprehended from voluntary ſubmiſſion, nor is any thing to be obtained by the abuſe of uſurped power. It can only be ſupported by violence; and how can a prince be happy who commands only by force, and is obeyed only through fear? He cannot ſit eaſy upon his throne, when he cannot reign without aſſerting that he holds his crown from God alone. Every man may more truly affirm, that he holds from God his life, his liberty, the unalienable right of being governed only by reaſon and juſtice. The welfare then and ſecurity of the people is the ſupreme law on which all others depend. This is, undoubtedly, the real fundamental law of all ſociety. It is by this we muſt interpret every particular law which muſt be derived from this principle, and ſerve to explain and ſupport it.

BOOK XVI.

If we apply this rule to the treaties of diviſion and ceſſion which kings make between themſelves, will it appear that they have the right of buying, ſelling or exchanging their ſubjects without their conſent? Shall princes then arrogate to themſelves the barbarous right of alienating or mortgaging their provinces and their ſubjects as they would their effects or eſtates; while the ſupplies granted for the ſupport of their houſe, the foreſts of their domain, the jewels of their crown, are all ſacred unalienable effects, which we muſt never have recourſe to, even in the moſt preſſing exigences of the ſtate?—Methinks I hear the voice of a numerous colony exclaiming from America, and addreſſing the mother country in the following terms.

"What have I done to thee, that thou ſhouldſt deliver me up into the hands of a ſtranger? Did I not ſpring from thy loins? Have I not ſown, planted, cultivated, and reaped for thee alone? When thy ſhips conveyed me to theſe ſhores, ſo different from thy own happy climate, didſt thou not engage for ever to protect me with thy fleets and armies? Have I not fought in ſupport of thy rights, and defended the country thou gaveſt me? After having fertilized it by my labour, have I not maintained it for thee at the expence of my blood? Thy children were my parents or my brethren; thy laws my boaſt, and thy name my pride: that name which I have ſtriven to render illuſtrious among nations to whom it was unknown. I have procured thee friends and allies among the ſavages. I flattered myſelf with the thought that I might one day come in competition with thy rivals, and be the terror of thy enemies. But thou haſt forſaken me. Thou haſt bound me without my conſent by a treaty, the very concealment of which was a treachery. Unfeeling

"ing, ungrateful parent, how couldſt thou break, in "oppoſition to the dictates of nature, the ties by which "I was attached to thee, even from my birth? While "with inceſſant and painful toil I was reſtoring to thee "the tribute of nouriſhment and ſubſiſtence I had re-"ceived from thee, I wiſhed for no other comfort than "that of living and dying under thy law. That com-"fort thou haſt refuſed me. Thou haſt torn me from "my family to deliver me up to a maſter whom I had not "approved. Reſtore my parent to me; reſtore me to "him whoſe name I have been uſed to call upon from "my earlieſt infancy. It is in thy power to make me "ſubmit againſt my will to a yoke which I abhor; but "this ſubmiſſion will only be temporary. I ſhall lan-"guiſh, and periſh with grief and weakneſs; or if I "ſhould recover life and vigour, it will only be to with-"draw myſelf from connections I deteſt; though I "ſhould even be compelled to deliver myſelf up to thy "enemies?"

LOUISIANA being in reality oppreſſed by her new maſters, was deſirous of ſhaking off a yoke which ſhe had abhorred even before it had been impoſed; but being rejected by France when ſhe endeavoured to put herſelf again under her protection, ſhe returned under the dominion of the ſame power from whoſe chains ſhe had attempted to free herſelf. The cruelties ſhe has experienced from the reſentment of an incenſed government, have ſerved only to increaſe a hatred already too inveterate to be forgotten. With ſuch diſpoſitions, the colony can ſcarce flatter itſelf to attain any degree of proſperity. Though Canada has alſo changed its mother country, it will not meet with the ſame obſtacles to its improvement.

BOOK XVI.

State of Canada at the peace of Utrecht.

At the peace of Utrecht, this vaſt country was in a ſtate of weakneſs and miſery not to be conceived. This was owing to the French who came there firſt, and who rather threw themſelves into this country, than ſettled upon it. Moſt of them had done nothing more than run about the woods; the more reaſonable among them had attempted ſome cultures, but without choice or plan. A piece of ground, haſtily tilled and built upon, was as haſtily forſaken. However, the expences the government was at, together with the profits of the fur trade, at times afforded the inhabitants a comfortable ſubſiſtence; but a ſeries of unfortunate wars ſoon deprived them of theſe enjoyments. In 1714, the exports from Canada did not exceed a hundred thouſand crowns. (f) This ſum, added to 350,000 livres, (g) which the government ſent over every year, was all the colony had to depend upon, for the payment of the goods they received from Europe. And indeed theſe were ſo few, that moſt people were reduced to wear ſkins like the Indians. Such was the deplorable ſituation of the far greater part of twenty thouſand French inhabitants, who were ſuppoſed to be in theſe immenſe regions.

Population, agriculture, manners, government, fiſheries, induſtry, and revenues of Canada.

The happy ſpirit which at that time animated the ſeveral parts of the world, rouſed Canada from the languid ſtate in which it had ſo long been plunged. It appears from the eſtimates taken in 1753 and 1758, which were nearly equal, that the population amounted to 91,000 ſouls, excluſive of the regular troops, whoſe numbers varied according to the different exigencies of the colony.

This calculation did not include the many allies diſperſed throughout an extent of 1200 leagues in length, and of conſiderable breadth, nor yet the 16,000 Indians who

(f) 13,125*l.* (g) 15,312*l.* 10*s.*

who dwelt in the center of the French settlements, or in their neighbourhood. None of these were ever considered as subjects, though they lived in the midst of a great European colony: the smallest clans still preserved their independance. All men talk of liberty, but the savage alone enjoys it. Not only the whole nation, but every individual is truly free. The consciousness of his independance operates upon all his thoughts and actions. He would enter the palace of an Asiatic monarch, just as he would come into a peasant's cottage, and neither be dazzled with his splendor, nor awed by his power. It is his own species, it is mankind, it is his equal that he loves and respects, but he would hate a master and destroy him. BOOK XVI.

PART of the French colony was centered in three cities. Quebec, the capital of Canada, is 1500 leagues distant from France, and 120 leagues from the sea. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on a peninsula, made by the river St. Lawrence, and the river St. Charles, and commands a prospect over extensive fields, which serve to enrich it, and a very safe road that will admit upwards of two hundred ships. It is three miles in circumference. Two thirds of this circuit are defended by the water and the rocks, which are a better security than the fortifications erected on the ramparts that cut the peninsula. The houses are tolerably well constructed. The inhabitants were computed at about 10,000 souls at the beginning of the year 1759. It was the center of commerce, and the seat of government.

THE city of the Trois Rivieres, built ten years later than Quebec, and situated thirty leagues higher, was raised with a view of encouraging the trade with the northern Indians. But this settlement, though brilliant at first, never attained to more than 1500 inhabitants, because

BOOK XVI.

because the fur trade was soon diverted from this market, and carried entirely to Montreal.

MONTREAL is an island, ten leagues long and four broad, almost, formed by the river St. Lawrence, sixty leagues above Quebec. Of all the adjacent country, this is the mildest, the most pleasant, and the most fruitful spot. A few scattered huts, erected by chance in 1640, advanced to a regular built town, which contained four thousand inhabitants. At first it lay exposed to the insults of the savages, but was afterwards inclosed with slight pallisades, and then with a wall, about fifteen feet high, topt with battlements. It fell to decay, when the inroads of the Iroquois obliged the French to erect forts higher up the country, to secure the fur trade.

THE other colonists, who were not comprized within the walls of these three cities, did not live in towns, but were scattered along the banks of the river St. Lawrence. None were to be seen near the mouth of that river, where the soil is rugged and barren, and where no corn will ripen. The first habitations to the south, began fifty leagues, and to the north, twenty leagues below Quebec; they were thinly scattered, and their produce was but indifferent. The truly fertile fields began only near the capital, and they grew better as one drew nearer to Montreal. Nothing can be more beautiful to the eye than the rich borders of that long and broad canal. Woods scattered here and there which decorated the tops of the grassy mountains, meadows covered with flocks, fields crowned with ripening corn, small streams of water flowing down to the river, churches and castles seen at intervals through the trees, exhibited a succession of the most inchanting prospects. These would have been still more delightful, if the edict of 1745 had been observed, which forbad the colonist from dividing his plantations, unless they were

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an acre and a half in front, and thirty or forty acres in depth. Indolent heirs would not then have torn in pieces the inheritance of their fathers. They would have been compelled to form new plantations; and vaſt ſpaces of fallow land would no longer have ſeparated rich and cultivated plains.

NATURE herſelf directed the labours of the huſbandman, and taught him to avoid watery and ſandy grounds, and all thoſe where the pine, the fir tree and the cedar grew ſolitary; but wherever he found a ſoil covered with maple, oak, beach, hornbeam and ſmall cherry trees, there he might reaſonably expect an increaſe of twenty to one in his wheat, and thirty to one in Indian corn, without the trouble of manuring.

ALL the plantations, though of different dimenſions, were ſufficient for the wants of their reſpective owners. There were few of them that did not yield maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulſe, and pot herbs in great plenty, and excellent in their kind.

MOST of the inhabitants had a ſcore of ſheep whoſe wool was very valuable to them, ten or a dozen milch cows, and five or ſix oxen for the plough. The cattle was ſmall, but their fleſh was excellent, and theſe people lived much better than our country people do in Europe.

WITH this kind of affluence, they could afford to keep a good number of horſes. They were not fine, indeed, but able to go through a great deal of hard work, and to run a prodigious way upon the ſnow. They were ſo fond of multiplying them in the colony, that in winter time they would laviſh on them the corn that they themſelves regretted at another ſeaſon.

SUCH was the ſituation of the 83,000 French, diſperſed or collected on the banks of the river St. Lawrence. Above the head of the river, and in what is called the

BOOK XVI.

the upper country, there were 8000 more, who were more addicted to hunting and trade than to husbandry.

THEIR first settlement was Catarakui, or fort Frontenac, built in 1671 at the entrance of the lake Ontario, to stop the inroads of the English and Iroquois. The bay of this place served as a harbour for the men of war and trading vessels belonging to this great lake, which might with more propriety be called a sea, and where storms are almost as frequent and as dreadful as on the ocean.

BETWEEN the lakes Ontario and Erie, which both measure 300 leagues in circumference, lies a continent of fourteen leagues. This land is intersected towards the middle by the famous fall of Niagara, which from its height, breadth and shape, and from the quantity and impetuosity of its waters, is justly accounted the most wonderful cataract in the world. It was above this grand and awful water-fall, that France had erected fortifications, with a design to prevent the Indians from carrying their furs to the rival nation.

BEYOND the lake Erie is an extent of land, distinguished by the name of the Streight, which exceeds all Canada for the mildness of the climate, the beauty and variety of the prospects, the richness of the soil, and the profusion of game and fish. Nature has lavished all her sweets to enrich this delightful spot. But this was not the motive that determined the French to settle there in the beginning of the present century. It was the vicinity of several Indian nations who could supply them abundantly with furs; and, indeed, this trade increased with considerable rapidity.

THE success of this new settlement proved fatal to the post of Michillimakinach, a hundred leagues further, between the lake Michigan, the lake Huron, and the lake

lake Superior, which are all three navigable. The greateſt part of the trade which uſed to be carried on there with the natives, went over to the Streights, and there is fixed.

Besides the forts already mentioned, there are ſome of leſſer note, in different parts of the country, conſtructed upon rivers, or at the openings between the mountains. The firſt ſentiment intereſt inſpires, is that of miſtruſt, and its firſt impulſe, is that of attack or defence. Each of theſe forts was manned with a garriſon, which defended the French who were ſettled in the neighbourhood. All together made up 8000 ſouls, who inhabited the upper country.

The manners of the French coloniſts ſettled in Canada were not always anſwerable to the climate they inhabited. Thoſe that lived in the country, ſpent their winter in idleneſs, gravely ſitting by their fire ſide. When the return of ſpring called them out to the indiſpenſable labours of the field, they ploughed the ground ſuperficially without ever manuring it, ſowed it careleſsly, and then ſank again into their former indolence till harveſt time. The people were too proud or too lazy to work for hire, ſo that every family was obliged to gather in their own crops; and nothing was to be ſeen of that ſprightly joy, which on a fine ſummer's day enlivens the reapers, whilſt they are gathering in their rich harveſt. Thoſe of the Canadians never went beyond a ſmall parcel of corn of each kind, a little hay and tobacco, a few cyder-apples, cabbage and onions. This was the whole produce of a plantation in that country.

This amazing negligence might be owing to ſeveral cauſes. The exceſſive cold in winter, which froze up the rivers, in a manner locked up and benumbed the faculties of men. They contracted ſuch a habit of idleneſs

BOOK XVI.

neſs during the continuance of the ſevere weather, for eight months ſucceſſively, that labour appeared an intolerable hardſhip, even in the fineſt weather. The numerous feſtivals of their religion were another hindrance to their induſtry. Men are ready enough to practiſe that kind of devotion which exempts them from labour. Laſtly, their paſſion for arms, which had been purpoſely encouraged amongſt theſe courageous and daring men, made them averſe from the labours of huſbandry. Their minds were ſo entirely abſorbed in military glory, that they were fond of nothing but war, though they engaged in it without pay.

The inhabitants of the cities, eſpecially of the Capital, lived both in winter and ſummer, in a conſtant round of diſſipation. They were alike inſenſible to the beauties of nature, and to the pleaſures of imagination; they had no taſte for arts or ſciences, for reading or inſtruction. Their only paſſion was amuſement, and perſons of all ages were fond of dancing at aſſemblies. This way of life conſiderably increaſed the influence of the ladies, who were poſſeſſed of every attraction, except thoſe ſoft emotions of the ſoul, which alone conſtitute the merit and the charm of beauty. Lively, gay, coquets and addicted to gallantry, they were more gratified with inſpiring than feeling the tender paſſions. In both ſexes might be obſerved a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher ſenſe of honour than of real honeſty. Superſtition took place of morality, as it does wherever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compenſate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers.

Idleneſs, prejudice and levity would never have taken ſuch an aſcendant in Canada, had the government been careful to employ the minds of the people upon ſolid and pro-

profitable objects. But all the coloniſts were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority. They were unacquainted with the ſlow and ſure proceſs of the laws. The will of the chief, or of his delegates, was an oracle, which they were not even at liberty to interpret, an awful decree, which they were to ſubmit to without examination. Delays, repreſentations, excuſes of honour, were ſo many crimes in the eyes of a deſpotic ruler, who had uſurped a power of puniſhing or abſolving by his bare word. He held in his own hands all favours and penalties, rewards and puniſhments; the right of impriſoning without the ſhadow of a crime, and the ſtill more formidable right of inforcing a reverence for his decrees as ſo many acts of juſtice, though they were but the irregular ſallies of his own caprice.

In early times, this unlimited power was not confined to matters relative to military diſcipline and political adminiſtration, but was extended even to civil juriſdiction. The governor decided arbitrarily and without appeal upon all differences ariſing between the coloniſts. Theſe conteſts were fortunately very rare, in a country where all things were almoſt, as it were, in common. This dangerous authority ſubſiſted till 1663, at which period a tribunal was erected in the capital, for the definitive trial of all cauſes depending throughout the colony. The cuſtom of Paris, modified ſuitably to local combinations, formed the code of their laws.

This code was not mutilated or diſfigured by a mixture of revenue laws. The adminiſtration of the finances in Canada, only took up a few fines of alienation; a trifling contribution from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal towards keeping up the fortifications; and ſome duties upon all goods imported and exported, which, indeed,

B. O. Ori. XVI.

indeed, were too high. In 1747, all these several articles brought no more than 260,200(*b*) livres into the treasury.

The lands were not taxed by the government, nor did they enjoy an entire exemption. A great mistake was made at the first settling of the colony, in granting to officers and gentlemen a piece of land, from two to four leagues in front, and unlimited in breadth. These great proprietors, who were men of moderate fortunes, and unskilled in agriculture, were unable to manage such vast estates, and were, therefore, under a necessity of making over their lands to soldiers or planters upon condition they should pay them a kind of ground-rent or homage for ever. This was introducing into America something very like the feudal government, which was so long fatal to Europe. The lord ceded ninety acres to each of his vassals, who on their part engaged to work in his mill, to pay him annually one or two sols per acre, and a bushel and a half of corn for the entire grant. This tax, though but a small one, maintained a great number of idle people, at the expence of the only class with which a colony ought to have been peopled. The true inhabitants, the laborious men, found the burden of maintaining an annuitant nobility increased, by the additional exactions of the clergy. In 1667, the tithes were imposed. They were, indeed, reduced to a twenty-sixth part of the crops, notwithstanding the clamours of that rapacious body; but still this was an oppression, in a country where the clergy had a property allotted them, which was sufficient for their maintenance.

So many impediments thrown in the way of agriculture, disabled the colony to pay for the necessaries that came from the mother country. The French ministry were at last so fully convinced of this truth, that after having

(*b*) 11,383*l.* 15*s.*

having always obstinately opposed the establishment of manufactures in America, they thought it their interest even to promote them in 1706. But these too tardy encouragements had very little effect, and the united industry of the colonists could never produce more than a few coarse linens, and some very bad woollen stuffs.

The fisheries were not much more inviting than the manufactures. The only one that could be an object of exportation, was that of the seal. This animal has been ranked in the class of fish, though he is not dumb, is always born on land, and lives more on dry ground than in the water. His head is somewhat like that of a mastiff. He has four paws which are very short, especially the hinder ones, which serve him rather to crawl than to walk upon. They are shaped like fins, but the fore feet have claws. His skin is hard, and covered with short hair. He is born white, but turns sandy or black, as he grows up. Sometimes he is of all the three colours.

There are two distinct sorts of seals. The larger sort will sometimes weigh no less than two thousand weight, and seem to have a sharper snout than the others. The small ones, whose skin is commonly marbled, are briskery, and more dextrous at extricating themselves out of the snares that are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them so far as to make them follow them.

It is upon the rocks that they couple, and that the dams lay their young, and sometimes upon the ice. They commonly bear two, and they usually suckle them in the water, but more frequently on land. When they want to teach them to swim, it is said they carry them upon their backs, drop them now and then into the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner till they

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BOOK XVI.

are ſtrong enough to ſwim of themſelves. Moſt little birds flutter about from ſpray to ſpray, before they venture to fly abroad; the eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter the boiſtrous winds; it is not therefore ſurpriſing, that the ſeal born on land, ſhould exerciſe her little ones in living under water.

THE manner of fiſhing for theſe amphibious animals is very ſimple. Their cuſtom is, when they are out at ſea, to enter into the creeks with the tide. As ſoon as ſome place is diſcovered where they reſort in ſhoals, they ſurround it with nets and ſtakes, only taking care to leave a little opening for them to get in. At high water this opening is ſtopped up, and when the tide is gone down, the prey remains on dry ground. There is nothing more to do but to knock them down. Sometimes the fiſhermen get into a canoe, and follow them to their lurking places, where they fire upon them the moment they put their heads out of the water to take in air. If they are only wounded, they are eaſily caught; if they are killed, they ſink directly, but are fetched up by great dogs, that are trained up to dive for them ſeven or eight fathom under water.

THE ſkin of the ſeal was formerly uſed for muffs, but afterwards to cover trunks, and to make ſhoes and boots. When it is well tanned, the grain is not unlike that of morocco leather. If on the one hand it is not quite ſo fine, on the other, it keeps longer.

THE fleſh of the ſeal is generally allowed to be good, but it turns to better account if it is boiled down to oil. For this purpoſe, it is ſufficient to ſet it on the fire in a copper or earthen veſſel. Frequently nothing more is done than to ſpread the fat upon large ſquares made of boards, where it melts of itſelf, and the oil runs off through an opening made for that purpoſe. It keeps

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clear for a long time, has no bad ſmell, and does not gather droſs. It is uſed for burning, and for dreſſing of leather. BOOK XVI.

FIVE or ſix ſmall ſhips were fitted out yearly from Canada for the ſeal fiſhery in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and one or two leſs for the Caribbee iſlands. They received from the iſlands nine or ten veſſels laden with rum, melaſſes, coffee and ſugar; and from France about thirty ſhips, whoſe lading together might amount to nine thouſand tons.

IN the interval between the two laſt wars, which was the moſt flouriſhing period of the colony, the exports did not exceed 1,200,000 (*i*) livres in furs, 800,000 (*k*) in beaver, 250,000 (*l*) in ſeal oil, the ſame in flour and peas, and 150,000 livres (*m*) in wood of all kinds. Theſe ſeveral articles put together, amounted but to 2,650,000 livres (*n*) a year, a ſum inſufficient to pay for the commodities they draw from the mother country. The government made up the deficiency.

WHEN the French were in poſſeſſion of Canada, they had very little money. The little that was brought in from time to time by the new ſettlers, did not ſtay long in the country, becauſe the neceſſities of the colony ſent it away again. This was a great obſtacle to the progreſs of commerce and agriculture. In 1670, the court of Verſailles coined a particular ſort of money for the uſe of all the French ſettlements in America, and ſet a nominal value upon it, a fourth part above the value of the current coin of the mother country. But this expedient was not productive of the advantages that were expected, at leaſt with regard to New France. They, therefore, contrived to ſubſtitute paper currency to metal, for the payment of the troops, and other expences of go-

(*i*) 52,500*l.* (*k*) 35,000*l.* (*l*) 10,937*l.* 10*s.*
(*m*) 6,562*l.* 10*s.* (*n*) 115,937*l.* 10*s.*

BOOK XVI.

government. This ſucceeded till the year 1713, when they were no longer true to the engagements they had entered into with the adminiſtrators of the colony. The bills of exchange they drew upon the treaſury of the mother country were not honoured, and from that time fell into diſcredit. They were at laſt paid off in 1720, but with the loſs of five-eighths.

THIS event occaſioned the uſe of money to be reſumed in Canada; but this expedient laſted only two years. The merchants found it troubleſome, chargeable and hazardous to ſend money to France, and ſo did all the colonies who had any remittances to make; ſo that they were the firſt to ſollicit the re-eſtabliſhment of paper currency. This money conſiſted of cards, on which were ſtamped the arms of France and Navarre, and they were ſigned by the governor, the intendant and the comptroller. They were of twenty-four,(o) twelve,(p) ſix,(q) and three livres;(r) and of thirty,(s) fifteen,(t) and ſeven ſols and a half.(u) The value of the whole number that was made out, did not exceed a million of livres.(w) When this ſum was not ſufficient for the demands of the public, the deficiency was made up by orders ſigned only by the intendant. This was the firſt grievance; but another and more ſcandalous abuſe was, that their number was unlimited. The ſmalleſt were of twenty ſols,(x) and the higheſt of a hundred livres.(y) Theſe different papers circulated about the colony, and ſupplied the want of money till the month of October. This was the lateſt ſeaſon for the ſhips to ſail from Canada. Then all this paper-currency was turned into bills of exchange payable in France by the government, which was

(o) 1l. 1s. (p) 10s. 6d. (q) 5s. 3d. (r) 2s. 1d. halfpenny. (s) 1s. 3d. three farthings. (t) 7d. 7-8ths. (u) 3d. three farthings. (w) 43,750l. (x) 10d. halfpenny. (y) 4l. 7s. 6d.

was ſuppoſed to have made uſe of the value. But they were ſo multiplied by the year 1754, that the Royal treaſury could no longer anſwer ſuch large demands, and was forced to protract the payment. An unfortunate war that broke out two years after, ſo increaſed their number, that at laſt they were prohibited. This preſently raiſed the price of all commodities to an immoderate degree; and as, on account of the enormous expences of the war, the king was the great conſumer, he alone bore the loſs of the diſcarded paper, and of the dearneſs of the goods. In 1759, the miniſtry were obliged to ſtop payment of the Canada bills, till their origin and their real value could be traced. They amounted to an alarming number.

THE annual expences of government for Canada, which in 1729 did not exceed 400,000 livres,(*x*) and before 1749 never went beyond 1,700,000,(*a*) were immenſe after that period. The year 1750 coſt 2,100,000;(*b*) the year 1751, 2,700,000;(*c*) the year 1752, 4,090,000; (*d*) the year 1753, 5,300,000; (*e*) the year 1754, 4,450,000;(*f*) the year 1755, 6,100,000;(*g*) the year 1756, 11,300,000;(*h*) the year 1757, 19,250,000;(*i*) the year 1758, 27,900,000; (*k*) the year 1759, 26,000,000;(*l*) the firſt eight months of the year 1760, 13,500,000.(*m*) Of theſe prodigious ſums, ninety millions (*n*) were owing at the peace.

THIS diſhoneſt debt was traced up to its origin, and the enormities that had given riſe to it were inquired into, as far as the diſtance of time and place would allow. The greateſt delinquents, who were become ſo in conſequence of the unlimited power and credit given

(*x*) 17,500*l*. (*a*) 74,375*l*. (*b*) 91,875*l*. (*c*) 118,125*l*. (*d*) 178,937*l*. 10*s*. (*e*) 231,875*l*. (*f*) 194,687*l*. 10*s*. (*g*) 266,875*l*. (*h*) 494,375*l*. (*i*) 842,187*l*. (*k*) 1,220,625*l*. (*l*) 1,137,500*l*. (*m*) 590,625*l*. (*n*) 3,500,000*l*.

BOOK XVI.

them by the government, were legally condemned to make conſiderable reſtitutions, but ſtill too moderate. The claims of private creditors were all diſcuſſed. Fortunately for them and for the nation, the miniſtry intruſted with this important and neceſſary buſineſs, were none but men of known integrity, who were not to be intimidated by the threats of power, nor bribed by the offers of fortune; who could not be impoſed upon by artifice, or wearied out by difficulties. By ſteadily and impartially holding an even balance between the intereſt of the public and the rights of individuals, they reduced the ſum total of the debts to thirty-eight millions.(o)

Advantages which France might have derived from Canada. Errors which have deprived her of them.

It was the fault of France if Canada was not worth the immenſe ſums that were beſtowed upon it. It had long ſince appeared that this vaſt region was every where capable of yielding prodigious crops, yet no more was cultivated than what was barely ſufficient for the ſuſtenance of the inhabitants. With moderate labour they might have raiſed corn enough to ſupply all the American iſlands, and even ſome parts of Europe. It is well known that in 1751, the colony ſent over two ſhip-loads of wheat to Marſeilles, which proved very good, and ſold very well. This exportation ought to have been encouraged, the more as the crops are liable to few accidents in that country, where the corn is ſown in May, and gathered in before the end of Auguſt.

If huſbandry had been encouraged and extended, the breed of cattle would have been increaſed. They have ſo much paſture ground, and ſuch plenty of acorns, that the colonies might eaſily have bred oxen and hogs, ſufficient to ſupply the French iſlands with beef and pork, without having recourſe to Iriſh beef. Poſſibly, they might

(o) 1,662,000*l.*

might in time have increaſed ſo much as to be able to victual the ſhips of the mother country. BOOK XVI

THEIR ſheep would have been no leſs advantageous to France. They were eaſily bred in Canada, where the dams commonly bear twins; and if they did not multiply faſter, it is becauſe the ewes were left with the ram at all ſeaſons; becauſe, as they moſtly brought forth in February, the ſeverity of the weather deſtroyed a great many lambs; and becauſe they were obliged to feed them with corn, and the inhabitants found this ſo chargeable, that they did not much care to rear them. All this might have been prevented by a law, enjoining all farmers to part the ram from the ewes from September to February. The lambs dropped in May would have been reared without any expence or hazard, and in a ſhort time the colony would have been covered with numerous flocks. Their wool, which is known to be very fine and good, would have ſupplied the manufactures of France, inſtead of that which they import from Andaluſia and Caſtile. The ſtate would have been enriched by this valuable commodity; and in return, the colony would have received a thouſand new and deſireable articles from the mother country.

THE Gin-ſeng would have been a great acquiſition to to both. This plant, which the Chineſe procure from the Corea, or from Tartary, and which they buy at the weight of gold, was found in 1720, by the Jeſuit Lafitau, in the foreſts of Canada, where it grows very common. It was ſoon carried to Canton, where it was much eſteemed, and ſold at an extravagant price. The Gin-ſeng, which at firſt ſold at Quebec for thirty or forty ſols (p) a pound, immediately roſe to twenty-five livres. (q) In 1752, the Canadians exported this plant

(p) About 1s. 6d. on an average. (q) 1l. 1s. 10d. halfpenny.

BOOK XVI.

to the value of 500,000 livres.(r) There was ſuch a demand for it, that they were induced to gather in May what ought not to have been gathered till September, and to dry in the oven what ſhould have been dried gradually in the ſhade. This ſpoilt the ſale of the Gin-ſeng of Canada in the only country in the world where it could find a market; and the coloniſts were ſeverely puniſhed for their exceſſive rapaciouſneſs, by the total loſs of a branch of commerce, which, if rightly managed, might have proved a ſource of opulence.

ANOTHER and a ſurer ſource for the encouragement of induſtry, was the working of the iron mines which abound in thoſe parts. The only one that has ever attracted the notice of the Europeans, lies near the town of the Trois Rivieres. It was diſcovered near the ſurface of the ground; there are no mines that yield more, and the beſt in Spain are not ſuperior to it for the pliability of the metal. A ſmith from Europe, who came thither in 1739, greatly improved the working of this mine, which till then had been but unſkilfully managed. From that time no other iron was uſed in the colony. They even exported ſome ſamples; but France would not be convinced that this iron was the beſt for fire-arms. The deſign of uſing this iron would have been very favorable to the project which, after much irreſolution had at laſt been adopted, of forming a marine eſtabliſhment in Canada.

THE firſt Europeans who landed on that vaſt region, found it all over covered with foreſts. The principal trees were oaks of prodigious height, and pines of all ſizes. Theſe woods could have been conveyed with eaſe down the river St. Lawrence, and the numberleſs rivers that diſcharge into it. By an unaccountable fatality, all theſe treaſures were overlooked or deſpiſed. At laſt the court

(r) 21,875l.

court of Verſailles thought proper to attend to them. They gave orders for erecting docks at Quebec for building men of war, but unfortunately truſted the buſineſs to agents, who had nothing in view but their own private intereſt. BOOK XVI.

THE timber ſhould have been felled upon the hills, where the cold air hardens the wood by contracting its fibres; whereas it was conſtantly fetched from marſhy grounds, and from the banks of the rivers, where the moiſture gives it a looſer texture, and makes it too rich. Inſtead of conveying it in barges, they floated it down on rafts to the place of its deſtination, where being forgotten and left in the water, it gathered a kind of moſs that rotted it. It ought to have been put under ſheds when it was landed, but it was left expoſed to the ſun in ſummer, to the ſnow in winter, and to the rains in ſpring and autumn. From thence it was conveyed into the dock yards, where it again ſuſtained the inclemency of the ſeaſons for two or three years. Negligence or diſhoneſty enhanced the price of every thing to ſuch a degree, that they got their ſails, ropes, pitch and tar from Europe, in a country which, with a little induſtry, might have ſupplied the whole kingdom of France with all theſe materials. This bad management had totally brought the wood of Canada into diſrepute, and effectually ruined the reſources which that country afforded for the navy.

THE colony furniſhed the manufactures of the mother country with a branch of induſtry that might almoſt be called an excluſive one, which was the preparation of the beaver. This comodity at firſt was ſubjected to the burden and reſtraints of monopoly. The India company could not but make an ill uſe of their privilege, and really did ſo. What they bought of the Indians was chiefly paid for in Engliſh ſcarlet cloths, which thoſe people

BOOK XVI.

were very fond of appearing in. But as they could make twenty-five or thirty per cent. more of their commodities in the Engliſh ſettlements than the company choſe to give, they carried thither all they could conceal from the ſearch of the company's agents, and exchanged their beaver for Engliſh cloth and India calicoe. Thus did France, by the abuſe of an inſtitution which ſhe was by no means obliged to maintain loſe the double advantage of furniſhing materials to ſome of her own manufactures, and of ſecuring a market for the produce of ſome others. She was equally ignorant with regard to the facility of eſtabliſhing a whale fiſhery in Canada.

THE chief ſources of this fiſhery are Davis's Streights and Greenland. Fifty ſhips come every year into the former of theſe latitudes, and a hundred and fifty into the latter. The Dutch are concerned for more than three fourths of them. The reſt are fitted out from Bremen, Hambourgh and England. It is computed that the whole expence of fitting out 200 ſhips, of 350 tons burden upon an average, muſt amount to 10,000,000 livres.(s) The uſual produce of each is rated at 80,000 livres,(t) and conſequently the whole amount of the fiſhery cannot be leſs than 3,200,000 livres.(u) If we deduct from this the profits of the ſeamen who devote themſelves to this hard and dangerous voyage, very little remains for the merchants concerned in this trade.

THIS is what has gradually diſguſted the Biſcayans, who were the firſt adventurers in the undertaking. They have not been ſucceeded by other Frenchmen, inſomuch that the whole fiſhery has been totally thrown up by that nation, which of all others made the greateſt conſumption of blubber, whalebone and Spermaceti. Many propoſals have been made for reſuming it in Canada. There

(s) 437,500l. (t) 3,500l. (u) 140,000l.

There was the fineſt proſpect of a plentiful fiſhery in the river St. Lawrence, attended with leſs danger and leſs expence than at Davis's Streights or Greenland. It has ever been the fate of this colony, that the beſt ſchemes relative to it have not been brought to bear; and this in particular, of a whale fiſhery, which would have ſingularly rouzed the activity of the coloniſts, and would have proved an excellent nurſery for ſeamen, has never met with the countenance of the government.

The ſame remiſſneſs has baffled the ſcheme, ſo often planned, and two or three times attempted, of fiſhing for cod on both ſides of the river St. Lawrence. Very poſſibly the ſucceſs would not have fully anſwered their expectation, becauſe the fiſh is but indifferent, and proper beaches are wanting to dry it. But the gulph would have made ample amends. It abounds with cod, which might have been carried to Newfoundland or Louiſbourg, and advantageouſly bartered for the productions of the Caribbee iſlands and European commodities. Every thing conſpired to promote the proſperity of the ſettlements in Canada, if they had been ſeconded by the men who ſeemed to be the moſt intereſted in them. But whence could proceed that inconceiveable inaction, which ſuffered them to languiſh in the ſame low condition they were in at firſt?

It muſt be confeſſed ſome obſtacles aroſe from the very nature of the climate. The river St. Lawrence is frozen up for ſix months in the year. At other times it is not navigable by night, on account of the thick fogs, rapid currents, ſand-banks, and concealed rocks, which make it even dangerous by day-light. Theſe difficulties increaſe from Quebec to Montreal to ſuch a degree, that ſailing is quite impracticable, and rowing ſo difficult, that from the Trois Rivieres, where the tide ends, the

oars

BOOK XVI.

oars cannot reſiſt the violence of the current, without the aſſiſtance of a very fair wind, and then only in the ſpace of a month or ſix weeks. From Montreal to the Lake Ontario, travellers meet with no leſs than ſix water-falls, which oblige them to unload their canoes, and to carry them and their lading a conſiderable way by land.

FAR from encouraging man to get the better of nature, a miſinformed government planned none but ruinous ſchemes. To gain the advantage over the Engliſh in the fur trade, they erected three and thirty forts, at a great diſtance from each other. The building and victualling of them diverted the Canadians from the only labours that ought to have engroſſed their attention. This error engaged them in an arduous and perilous track.

IT was not without ſome uneaſineſs that the Indians ſaw the beginnings of theſe ſettlements, which might endanger their liberty. Their ſuſpicions induced them to take up arms, ſo that the colony was ſeldom free from war. Neceſſity made all the Canadians ſoldiers. Their manly and military education made them hardy, and fearleſs of danger. Juſt emerging from childhood, they would traverſe a vaſt continent in the ſummer time in canoes, and in winter on foot, through ice and ſnow. As they had nothing but their gun to procure ſubſiſtence with, they were in continual danger of ſtarving; but they were under no apprehenſions of fear, not even of falling into the hands of the ſavages, who had exerted all the efforts of their imagination in inventing tortures for their enemies, far worſe than death.

THE ſedentary arts of peace, and the ſteady labours of agriculture, had no attraction for men accuſtomed to an active but wandering life. The court, which forms no idea

idea of the ſweets or the utility of rural life, increaſed the averſion which the Canadians had conceived for it, by beſtowing all their favours and honours upon military actions alone. The diſtinction that was moſtly laviſhed was that of nobility, which was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. It not only plunged the Canadians in idleneſs, but alſo inſpired them with an unſurmountable turn for every thing that was ſplendid. Profits which ought to have been kept ſacred for the improvement of the lands, were laid out in ornament, and a real property was concealed under the trappings of deſtructive luxury.

Origin of the wars between the Engliſh and the French in Canada.

SUCH was the ſtate of the colony in 1747, when La Galiſſoniere was appointed governor. He was an able, reſolute and active man; a man of great ſteadineſs, becauſe he acted upon ſound principles. The Engliſh wanted to extend the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as far as the ſouth ſide of the river St. Lawrence. He thought this an unjuſt claim, and was determined to confine them within the peninſula, which he apprehended to be the limits ſettled by treaty. Their ambition of incroaching on the inland parts, particularly towards the Ohio, or Fair river, he likewiſe thought unreaſonable. He was of opinion that the Apalachian mountains ought to be the boundary of their poſſeſſions, and was fully determined they ſhould not paſs them. His ſucceſſor, who was appointed whilſt he was collecting the means of accompliſhing this vaſt deſign, entered into his views with all the warmth they deſerved. Numbers of forts were immediately erected on all ſides, to ſupport the ſyſtem which the court had adopted, perhaps, without foreſeeing, or, perhaps, without ſufficiently attending to the conſequences.

AT

BOOK XVI.

At this period began thoſe hoſtilities between the Engliſh and the French in North America, which were rather countenanced than openly avowed by the reſpective mother countries. This clandeſtine mode of carrying on the war was perfectly agreeable to the miniſtry at Verſailles, as it afforded an opportunity of recovering by degrees, and without expoſing their weakneſs, what they had loſt by treaties, at a time when the enemy had impoſed their own terms. Theſe repeated checks at laſt opened the eyes of Great Britain, and diſcloſed the political ſyſtem of her rival. George II. thought an equivocal ſituation was inconſiſtent with the ſuperiority of his maritime forces. His flag was ordered to inſult the French flag on every ſea. The Engliſh accordingly took or diſperſed all the French ſhips they met with, and in 1758, ſteered towards Cape Breton.

Conqueſt of Cape Breton by the Engliſh.

This iſland, the key of Canada, had already been attacked in 1745, and the event is of ſo ſingular a nature, that it deſerves a particular detail. The plan of this firſt invaſion was laid at Boſton, and New England bore the expence of it. A merchant, named Pepperel, who had ſtirred up, encouraged and directed the enthuſiaſm of the the colony, was intruſted with the command of an army of 6000 men, which had been levied for this expedition.

Though theſe forces, convoyed by a ſquadron from Jamaica, brought the firſt news to Cape Breton of the danger that threatened them; though the advantage of a ſurprize would have ſecured their landing without oppoſition; though they had but 600 regular troops to encounter, and 800 inhabitants haſtily armed, the ſucceſs of the undertaking was ſtill precarious. What great exploits, indeed could be expected from a raw militia, haſtily aſſembled, who had never ſeen a ſiege or faced an enemy, and were to act under the guidance of ſea-officers only.

Theſe

These unexperienced troops stood in need of the assistance of some fortunate incident which they were indeed favoured with in a singular manner.

The construction and repairs of the fortifications had at all times been left to the management of the garrison of Louisbourg. The soldiers were eager of being employed in these works, which they considered as conducive to their safety, and as a means of procuring a comfortable subsistence. When they found that those who were to have paid them, appropriated the fruit of their labours to their own use they demanded justice. It was denied them, and they determined to maintain their right. As these depredations had been shared between the chief persons of the colony and the subaltern officers, the soldiers could obtain no redress. Their indignation against these rapacious extortioners rose to such a height that they despised all authority. They had lived in open rebellion for six months past when the English appeared before the place.

This was the time to conciliate the minds of both parties, and to unite in the common cause. The soldiers made the first advances; but their commanders mistrusted a generosity of which they themselves were incapable. If these mean oppressors could have conceived it possible that the soldiery could have entertained such elevated notions as to sacrifice their own resentment to the good of their country, they would have taken advantage of this disposition, and have fallen upon the enemy whilst they were forming their camp and beginning to open their trenches. Besiegers, unacquainted with any military principle, would have been disconcerted by regular and vigorous attacks. The first checks might have been sufficient to discourage them, and to make them relinquish the undertaking. But it was firmly believed that the soldiers were desirous of sallying out, only that they might

BOOK XVI.

might have an opportunity of deserting; and their own officers kept them in a manner prisoners, till a defence so ill-managed had reduced them to the necessity of capitulating. The whole island shared the fate of Louisbourg, its only bulwark.

This valuable possession, restored to France by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was again attacked by the English in 1758. On the 2d of June, a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates, carrying 16,000 veterans, anchored in Gabarus bay, within half a league of Louisbourg. As it was evident that it would be to no purpose to land at a greater distance, because it would be impossible to bring up the artillery and other necessaries for a siege, they had bent their whole attention to make the landing impracticable near the town. In the wise precautions that had been taken, the besiegers saw the dangers and difficulties they had to expect, and were not deterred by them; but had recourse to stratagem, and while by extending their line they threatened and covered the whole coast, they landed by force of arms at the creek of Cormoran.

This place was weak by nature. The French had fortified it with a good parapet planted with cannon. Behind this rampart they had posted 2000 excellent soldiers and some Indians. In front they had made such a close hedge with branches of trees, that would have been very difficult to penetrate, even if it had not been defended. This kind of palisade, which concealed all the preparations for defence, appeared at a distance to be nothing more than a verdant plain.

This would have preserved the colony, had the assailants been suffered to complete their landing, and to advance with confidence, as having but few obstacles to surmount. Then, overpowered at once by the fire of the

the artillery and the ſmall arms, they would infallibly have periſhed on the ſhore, or in the hurry of embarking; the more as the ſea was juſt then very rough. This unexpected loſs might have interrupted the whole project. BOOK XVI.

But all the precautions of prudence were rendered abortive by the impetuoſity of the French. The Engliſh had ſcarce begun to move towards the ſhore, when their enemies haſtened to diſcover the ſnare that was laid for them. By the briſk and haſty fire that was aimed at their boats, and ſtill more by the premature removal of the boughs that maſked the forces, which it was ſo much the intereſt of the French to conceal, they gueſſed at the danger they were going to ruſh into. They immediately turned back, and ſaw no other place to effect their landing but a rock, which had been always deemed inacceſſible. General Wolf, though much taken up in reimbarking his troops, and ſending off the boats, beckoned to Major Scot to repair thither.

This officer immediately removed to the ſpot with his men. His own boat coming up firſt, and having ſunk at the very inſtant he was ſtepping out, he climbed up the rock alone. He was in hopes of meeting with a hundred of his men who had been ſent thither ſome hours before. He found only ten. With theſe few, however, he gained the ſummit of the rock. Ten Indians and ſixty Frenchmen killed two of his men, and mortally wounded three. In ſpite of his weakneſs, he ſtood his ground under cover of a thicket, till his brave countrymen, regardleſs of the boiſtrous waves and the fire of the cannon, came up to him, and put him in full poſſeſſion of that important poſt, the only one that could ſecure their landing.

The French, as ſoon as they ſaw that the enemy had got a firm footing on land, betook themſelves to the only remaining refuge, and ſhut themſelves up in Louiſbourg.

The

BOOK XVI.

The fortifications were in a bad condition, becauſe the ſea ſand, which they had been obliged to uſe, is by no means fit for works of maſonry. The revetements of the ſeveral curtains were entirely crumbled away. There was only one caſemate and a ſmall magazine that were bomb proof. The garriſon which was to defend the place conſiſted only of 2,900 men.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe diſadvantages, the beſieged were determined to make an obſtinate reſiſtance. While they were employed in defending themſelves with ſo much firmneſs, the ſuccours they expected from Canada might poſſibly arrive. At all events this was a means of preſerving that great colony from all further invaſion for the remainder of the campaign. It is ſcarce credible that this degree of reſolution was ſupported by the courage of a woman. Madame de Drucourt was continually upon the ramparts, with her purſe in her hand; and firing herſelf three guns every day, ſeemed to diſpute with the governor her huſband the glory of his office. The beſieged were not diſmayed at the ill ſucceſs of their ſeveral ſallies, or the maſterly operations concerted by Admiral Boſcawen and General Amherſt. It was but at the eve of an aſſault, which it was impoſſible to ſuſtain, that they talked of ſurrendering. They made an honorable capitulation, and the conqueror ſhewed more reſpect for his enemy and for himſelf, than to ſully his glory by any act of barbarity or avarice.

The Engliſh attack Canada.

THE conqueſt of Cape Breton opened the way into Canada. The very next year the ſeat of war was removed thither, or rather the ſcenes of bloodſhed which had long been acted over that immenſe country were multiplied. The cauſe of theſe proceedings was this.

THE French, ſettled in thoſe parts, had carried their ambitious views towards the north, where the fineſt furs

were

were to be had, and in the greateſt plenty. When this vein of wealth was exhauſted, or yielded leſs than it did at firſt, their trade turned ſouthward, where they diſcovered the Ohio, to which they gave the name of the Fair river. It laid open the natural communication between Canada and Louiſiana. For though the ſhips that ſail up the river St. Lawrence go no further than Quebec, the navigation is carried on in barges up to lake Ontario, which is only parted from lake Erie by a neck of land, where the French very early built Fort Niagara. It is on this ſpot, in the neighbourhood of lake Erie, that the ſource of the river Ohio is found, which waters the fineſt country in the world, and increaſing by the many rivers that fall into it, conveys its waters into the Miſſiſippi. BOOK XVI.

YET the French made no uſe of this magnificent canal. The trifling intercourſe that ſubſiſted between the two colonies was always carried on by the northern regions. The new way, which was much ſhorter and eaſier than the old, firſt began to be frequented by a body of troops that were ſent over to Canada in 1739, to aſſiſt the colony of Louiſiana, which was in open war with the Indians. After this expedition, the ſouthern road was again forgotten, and was never thought of till the year 1753. At that period, ſeveral ſmall forts were erected along the Ohio, the courſe of which had been traced for four years paſt. The moſt conſiderable of theſe forts took its name from governor Duqueſne who had built it.

THE Engliſh colonies could not ſee without concern French ſettlements raiſed behind them, which joined with the old ones, and ſeemed to ſurround them. They were apprehenſive leſt the Apalachian mountains, which were to form the natural boundaries between both nations, ſhould not prove a ſufficient barrier againſt the attempts of a reſtleſs and warlike neighbour. Prompted by this

BOOK XVI.

miſtruſt, they themſelves paſſed theſe famous mountains, to diſpute the poſſeſſion of the Ohio with the rival nation. This firſt ſtep proved unſucceſsful. The ſeveral parties that were ſucceſſively ſent out, were routed; and the forts were pulled down as faſt as they built them.

To put an end to theſe national affronts, and revenge the diſgrace they reflected on the mother country, a large body of troops was ſent over, under the command of General Braddock. In the ſummer of 1755, as this general was proceeding to attack fort Duqueſne with 36 pieces of cannon and 600 men, he was ſurprized, within four leagues of the place, by 250 Frenchmen and 650 Indians, and all his army was cut to pieces. This unaccountable miſchance put a ſtop to the march of three numerous bodies that were advancing to fall upon Canada. The terror occaſioned by this accident, made them haſten back to their quarters, and in the next campaign, all their motions were guided by the moſt timorous caution.

The French were emboldened by this perplexity, and though very much inferior to them, ventured to appear before Oſwego in Auguſt 1756. It was originally a fortified magazine at the mouth of the river Onondago on the lake Ontario. It ſtood nearly in the center of Canada, in ſo advantageous a ſituation, that many works had from time to time been erected there, which had rendered it one of the capital poſts in thoſe parts. It was guarded by 1800 men, with 121 pieces of cannon, and great plenty of ſtores of all kinds. Though ſo well ſupported it ſurrendered in a few days, to the briſk and bold attacks of 3000 men who were laying ſiege to it.

In Auguſt 1757, 5500 French and 1800 Indians marched up to Fort George, ſituated on lake Sacrament, which was juſtly conſidered as the bulwark of the

Engliſh

English ſettlements, and the rendezvous of all the forces deſtined againſt Canada. Nature and art had conſpired to block up the roads leading to that place, and to make all acceſs impracticable. Theſe advantages were further ſupported by ſeveral bodies of troops, placed at proper diſtances in the beſt poſitions. Yet theſe obſtacles were ſurmounted with ſuch prudence and intrepidity, as would have been memorable in hiſtory, had the ſcene of action lain in a more known ſpot. The French, after killing or diſperſing all the ſmall parties they met with, arrived before the place, and forced the garriſon, conſiſting of 2264 men, to capitulate.

THIS freſh diſaſter roused the Engliſh. Their generals applied themſelves during the winter ſeaſon to the training up of their men, and bringing the ſeveral troops under a proper diſcipline. They made them exerciſe in the woods, in fighting after the Indian manner. In the ſpring, the army, conſiſting of 6300 regulars and 13000 militia belonging to the colonies, aſſembled on the ruins of Fort George. They embarked on lake Sacrament, which parted the colonies of both nations, and marched up to Carillon, diſtant but four leagues.

THAT fort, which had been but lately erected on the breaking out of the war, was extenſive enough to withſtand the forces that were marching againſt it. They, therefore, quickly formed intrenchments under the cannon of the fort, with ſtems of trees, heaped up one upon another, and in front they laid large trees and the branches being cut and ſharpened, anſwered the purpoſe of chevaux de friſe. The colours were planted on the top of ramparts, behind which lay 3500 men.

THE Engliſh were not diſmayed at theſe formidable appearances, being fully determined to remove the diſgrace of their former miſcarriages in a country where the

BOOK XVI.

prosperity of their trade depended on the success of their arms. On the 8th of July 1758, they rushed upon these pallisades with the wildest fury. In vain did the French fire upon them from the top of the parapet, whilst they were unable to defend themselves. They fell upon the sharp spikes, and were entangled among the stumps and boughs through which their eagerness had made them rush. All these losses served but to increase their furious violence. It continued for upwards of four hours, and cost them above 4000 of their brave men before they would give up this rash and desperate undertaking.

They were equally unsuccessful in lesser actions. They did not insult one post without meeting with a repulse. Every party they sent out was beaten, and every convoy intercepted. The depth of winter, which ought to have been their protection, was the very season in which the Indians and Canadians carried fire and sword to the frontiers and into the very heart of the English colonies.

All these disasters were owing to a false principle of government. The English minister had always entertained a notion that the superiority of their navy was alone sufficient to assert their dominion in America, as it afforded a ready conveyance for succours, and could easily intercept the enemy's forces.

Though experience had shewn the fallacy of these pretensions, the ministry did not even endeavour to diminish the ill effects of them, by the choice of their generals. Almost all those who were employed in this service were deficient in point of abilities and activity.

The armies were not such as would make amends for the defects of their commanders. The troops indeed were not wanting in that daring spirit and invincible courage, which

which is the characteriſtic of the Engliſh ſoldiers, ariſing from the climate, and ſtill more from the nature of their government; but theſe national qualities were counterbalanced or extinguiſhed by the hardſhips they underwent, in a country deſtitute of all the conveniences that Europe affords. As to the militia of the colonies, it was made up of peaceable huſbandmen, who were not inured to ſlaughter, like moſt of the French coloniſts, by a habit of hunting, and by military ardor. BOOK XVI.

To theſe diſadvantages, ariſing from the nature of things, were added others altogether owing to miſconduct. The poſts erected for the ſafety of the ſeveral Engliſh ſettlements, were not ſo contrived as to ſupport and aſſiſt each other. The provinces having all ſeparate intereſts, and not being united under the authority of one head, did not concur in thoſe joint efforts, for the good of the whole, and that unanimity of ſentiments, which alone can inſure the ſucceſs of their meaſures. The ſeaſon of action was waſted in vain altercations between the governors and the coloniſts. Every plan of operation that met with oppoſition from any aſſembly was dropped. If any one was agreed upon, it was certainly made public before the execution, and by thus divulging it, they made it miſcarry. Laſtly, they were in irreconcileable enmity with the Indians.

THESE nations had always ſhewn a viſible partiality for the French, in return for the kindneſs they had ſhewn them in ſending them miſſionaries, whom they conſidered rather as ambaſſadors from the prince, than as ſent from God. Theſe miſſionaries, by ſtudying the language of the ſavages, conforming to their temper and inclinations, and putting in practice every attention to gain their confidence, had acquired an abſolute dominion over their minds. The French coloniſts, far from communicating

BOOK XVI.

the European manners, had adopted those of the country they lived in: their indolence in time of peace, their activity in war, and their constant fondness for a wandering life. Several officers of distinction had got themselves incorporated with them. The hatred and jealousy of the English has vilifyed them on this account, and they have not scrupled to assert that these generous men had given money for the skulls of their enemies, that they joined in the horrid dances that accompany the execution of their prisoners, imitated their cruelties, and partook of their barbarous festivals. But these horrid excesses would be better adapted to people who have substituted national to religious fanaticism, and are more inclined to hate other nations than to love their own government.

THEIR strong attachment to the French was productive of the most inveterate hatred against the English. In their opinion of all the European savages, these were the hardest to tame. Their aversion soon rose to madness; and to a thirst for English blood, when they found that a reward was offered for their destruction, and that they were to be turned out of their native land by foreign assassins. The same hands which had enriched the English colony with their furs, now took up the hatchet to destroy it. The Indians pursued the English with as much eagerness as they did the wild beasts. Glory was no longer their aim in battle, their only object was slaughter. They destroyed armies which the French wished only to subdue. Their fury rose to such a height, that an English prisoner having been conducted into a lonely habitation, the woman immediately cut off his arm, and made her family drink the blood that ran from it. A missionary Jesuit reproaching her with the atrociousness of the action, she answered him; *my children must be warriors,*

warriors, and therefore they muſt be fed with the blood of their enemies.

BOOK XVI.

Taking of Quebec by the Engliſh.

SUCH was the ſtate of things, when an Engliſh fleet entered the river St. Lawrence in June 1759. No ſooner was it anchored at the iſle of Orleans, than eight fire-ſhips were ſent off to conſume it. Had they executed their orders, not a ſhip or a man would have eſcaped; but the captains who conducted the operation were ſeized with a panic. They ſet fire to their veſſels too ſoon, and hurried back to land in their boats. The aſſailants had ſeen their danger at a diſtance, but were delivered from it by this accident, and from that moment the conqueſt of Canada was almoſt certain.

THE Britiſh flag ſoon appeared before Quebec. The buſineſs was to land there, and to get a firm footing in the neighbourhood of the town, in order to lay ſiege to it. But they found the banks of the river ſo well intrenched, and ſo well defended by troops and redoubts, that their firſt attempts were fruitleſs. Every landing coſt them torrents of blood, without gaining any ground. They had perſiſted for ſix weeks in theſe unſucceſsful endeavours, when at laſt they had the ſingular good fortune to land unperceived. It was on the 12th of September, an hour before break of day, three miles above the town. Their army, conſiſting of 6000 men, was already drawn up in order of battle, when it was attacked the next day by a corps that was weaker by one third. For ſome time ardour ſupplied the want of numbers. At laſt, French vivacity gave up the victory to the enemy, who had loſt the intrepid Wolf their general, but did not loſe their confidence and reſolution.

THIS was gaining a conſiderable advantage, but it might not have been deciſive. Twelve hours would have been ſufficient to collect the troops that were poſted with-

BOOK XVIII.

in a few leagues of the field of battle, to join the vanquiſhed army, and march up to the conqueror, with a force ſuperior to the former. This was the opinion of the French general Montcalm, who being mortally wounded in the retreat, had time enough before he expired, to think of the ſafety of his men, and to encourage them to repair their diſaſter. This generous motion was overruled by the council of war. They removed ten leagues off. The Chevalier de Levy, who had haſtened from his poſt to replace Montcalm, blamed this inſtance of cowardice. They were aſhamed of it, and wanted to recall it, and make another attempt for victory, but it was too late. Quebec, three parts deſtroyed by the firing from the ſhips, had capitulated on the 17th.

ALL Europe thought the taking of this place had put an end to the great conteſt of North America. They never imagined that a handful of Frenchmen, in want of every thing, who ſeemed to be in a deſperate condition, would dare to think of protracting their inevitable fate. They did not know what theſe people were capable of doing. They haſtily completed ſome intrenchments that had been begun ten leagues above Quebec. There they left troops ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy; and proceeded to Montreal, to concert meaſures to cancel their diſgrace.

IT was there agreed that in the ſpring they ſhould march out with an armed force againſt Quebec, to retake it by ſurpriſe, or if that ſhould fail, to beſiege it in form. They had nothing in readineſs for that purpoſe, but the plan was ſo concerted, that they ſhould enter upon the undertaking juſt at the inſtant when the ſuccours they expected from France could not fail of coming.

THOUGH the colony had long been in dreadful want of every thing, the preparatives were already made, when the

the ice, which covered the whole river, began to give way towards the middle, and opened a ſmall canal. They dragged ſome boats over the ice, and ſlipped them into the water. The army, conſiſting of citizens and ſoldiers, who made but one body, and were animated with one ſoul, fell down this ſtream, with inconceiveable ardor, on the 12th of April 1760. The Engliſh thought they ſtill lay quiet in their winter quarters. The army, already landed, was juſt come up with an advanced guard of 1500 men, poſted three leagues from Quebec. This party was juſt upon the point of being cut to pieces, had it not been for one of thoſe unaccountable incidents, which no human prudence can foreſee.

A gunner, attempting to ſtep out of his boat, had fallen into the water. He caught hold of a flake of ice, climbed up upon it, and ſwam down the ſtream. As he paſſed by Quebec, cloſe to the ſhore, he was ſeen by a centinel, who obſerving a man in diſtreſs, called out for help. They flew to his aſſiſtance, and found him motionleſs. They knew him by his uniform to be a French ſoldier, and carried him to the governor's houſe, where by the help of ſpirituous liquors, they recalled him to life for a moment. He juſt recovered his ſpeech enough to tell them that an army of 10,000 French was at the gates, and expired. The governor immediately diſpatched orders to the advanced guard to come within the walls with all expedition. Notwithſtanding their precipitate retreat, the French had time to attack their rear. A few moments later, they would have been defeated, and the city retaken.

The aſſailants however marched on with an intrepidity which ſeemed as if they expected every thing from their valour, and thought no more of a ſurprize. They were within a league of the town, when they were met by a body

BOOK XVI.

body of 4000 men, who were ſent out to ſtop them. The onſet was ſharp, and the reſiſtance obſtinate. The Engliſh were driven back within their walls, leaving 1800 of their braveſt men upon the ſpot, and their artillery in the enemy's hands.

THE trenches were immediately opened before Quebec; but as they had none but field-pieces, as no ſuccours came from France, and as a ſtrong Engliſh ſquadron was coming up the river, they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege on the 16th of May, and to retreat from poſt to poſt, as far as Montreal. Three formidable armies, one of which was come down, and another up the river, and a third proceeded over the lake Champlain, ſurrounded theſe troops, which were not very numerous at firſt, and being now exceedingly reduced by frequent ſkirmiſhes and continual fatigues, were in want both of proviſions and warlike ſtores, and found themſelves ſurrounded and incloſed in an open place. Theſe miſerable remains of a body of 7000 men, who had never been recruited, and had ſo much ſignalized themſelves, with the help of a few militia and a few Indians, were at laſt forced to capitulate, and for the whole colony. The conqueſt was confirmed by the treaty of peace, and this country increaſed the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh in North-America.

Canada is ceded to the Engliſh. What advantages they might derive from that poſſeſſion.

THE acquiſition of an immenſe territory is not, however, the only advantage that Great Britain could derive from the ſucceſs of her arms. The conſiderable population ſhe has found there is of ſtill greater importance. Some of theſe numerous inhabitants, it is true, have fled from a new dominion, which admitted no other difference among men but ſuch as aroſe from perſonal qualities, education, fortune, or the property of being uſeful to ſociety. But the emigration of theſe contemptible perſons, whoſe importance was founded on nothing but barbarous

barous cuſtom, cannot ſurely have been conſidered as a misfortune. Would not the colony have been much benefited by getting rid of that indolent nobility that had incumbered it ſo long, of that proud nobility that kept up the contempt for all kinds of labour? The only things neceſſary to make the colony proſper, are, that its lands ſhould be cleared, its foreſts cut down, its iron mines worked, its fiſheries extended, its induſtry and exportations improved.

THE province of Canada has been convinced of this truth. And, indeed, notwithſtanding the ties of blood, language, religion and government which are uſually ſo ſtrong; notwithſtanding that variety of connections and prejudices which aſſume ſo powerful an aſcendant over the minds of men; the Canadians have not ſhewn much concern at the violent ſeparation by which they were detached from their ancient country. They have readily concurred in the means employed by the Engliſh miniſtry to eſtabliſh their happineſs and liberty upon a ſolid foundation.

THE laws of the Engliſh admiralty were firſt given them. But this innovation was ſcarcely perceived by them; becauſe it ſcarce concerned any except the conquerors, who were in poſſeſſion of all the maritime trade of the colony.

THEY have paid more attention to the eſtabliſhment of the criminal laws of England, which was one of the moſt happy circumſtances Canada could experience. To the impenetrable myſterious tranſactions of a cruel inquiſition, ſucceeded a cool, rational and public trial; a tribunal dreadful and accuſtomed to ſhed blood was replaced by humane judges, more diſpoſed to acknowledge innocence than to ſuppoſe criminality.

THE

BOOK XVI.

THE conquered people have been ſtill more delighted on finding the liberty of their perſons ſecured for ever by the famous law of Habeas Corpus. As they had too long been victims of the arbitrary wills of thoſe who governed them, they have bleſſed the beneficent hand that drew them from a ſtate of ſlavery, to put them under the protection of the laws.

THE attention of the Britiſh miniſtry was afterwards taken up in ſupplying Canada with a code of civil laws. This important work, though intruſted to able, induſtrious and upright lawyers, hath not yet obtained the ſanction of government. If the ſucceſs anſwers the expectations, a colony will at laſt be found which will have a legiſlative ſyſtem adapted to its climate, its population, and its labours.

INDEPENDENT of theſe parental views, Great Britain has thought it her political intereſt to introduce, by ſecret ſprings, among her new ſubjects, an inclination for the cuſtoms, the language, the worſhip and the opinions of the mother country. This kind of analogy is, in fact, generally ſpeaking, one of the ſtrongeſt bands that can attach the colonies to the mother country. But we imagine that the preſent ſituation of things ought to have occaſioned a preference to another ſyſtem. England has at this time ſo much reaſon to be apprehenſive of the ſpirit of independence, which prevails in North-America, that, perhaps, it would have been more to her advantage to maintain Canada in a kind of diſtinct ſtate from the other provinces, rather than bring them nearer to each other by affinities which may one day unite them too cloſely.

HOWEVER this may be, the Britiſh miniſtry have given the Engliſh government to Canada, ſo far as it was conſiſtent with an authority entirely regal, and without any mixture of a popular adminiſtration. Their new

new ſubjects, ſecure from the fear of future wars, eaſed of the burthen of defending diſtant poſts, which removed them far from their habitations, and deprived of the fur trade which has returned into its natural channel, have only to attend to their cultures. As theſe advance, their intercourſe with Europe and with the Caribbee iſlands will increaſe, and ſoon become very conſiderable. It will for the future be the only reſource of a vaſt country, into which France formerly poured immenſe ſums, conſidering it as the chief bulwark of her ſouthern iſlands. The truth of this political combination, which has been overlooked by ſo many negotiators, will appear evident, as we proceed to explain the advantages of the Engliſh ſettlements on the continent of North-America.

END OF THE SIXTEENTH BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK XVII.

BOOK XVII.

English colonies settled at Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, Nova-Scotia, New-England, New-York, and New-Jersey.

First expeditions of the English in North-America.

ENGLAND was only known in America by her piracies, which were often successful and always brilliant, when Sir Walter Ralegh conceived a project to make his nation partake of the prodigious riches which, for near a century past, flowed from that hemisphere into ours. That great man, who was born for bold undertakings, cast his eye on the eastern coast of North-America. The talent he had of subduing the mind by representing all his proposals in a striking light, soon procured him associates, both at court and amongst the merchants. The company that was formed upon the allurements of his magnificent promises, obtained of government in 1584 the absolute disposal of all the discoveries that should be made; and without any further encouragement, they fitted out two ships in April following, that anchored in Roanoak bay, which now makes a part of Carolina. Their commanders, worthy of the trust re-

repoſed in them, behaved with remarkable affability in a country where they wanted to ſettle their nation, and left the ſavages to make their own terms in the trade they propoſed to open with them.

EVERY thing that theſe ſucceſsful navigators reported on their return to Europe, concerning the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the ſoil, and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, encouraged the ſociety to proceed. They accordingly ſent ſeven ſhips the following ſpring, which landed a hundred and eight free men at Roanoak, for the purpoſe of commencing a ſettlement. Part of them were murdered by the ſavages whom they had inſulted, and the reſt, having been ſo improvident as to neglect the culture of the land, were periſhing with miſery and hunger, when a deliverer came to their aſſiſtance.

THIS was Sir Francis Drake, ſo famous among ſeamen for being the next after Magellan who ſailed round the globe. The abilities he had ſhewn in that grand expedition, induced queen Elizabeth to make choice of him to humble Philip II. in that part of his domains which he made uſe of to diſturb the peace of other nations. Few orders were ever more punctually executed. The Engliſh fleet ſeized upon St. Jago, Carthagena, St. Domingo, ſeveral other important places, and took a great many rich ſhips. His inſtructions were, that after theſe operations, he ſhould proceed and offer his aſſiſtance to the colony at Roanoak. The wretched few, who had ſurvived the numberleſs calamities that had befallen them, were in ſuch deſpair, that they refuſed all aſſiſtance, and only begged he would convey them to their native country. The admiral complied with their requeſt; and thus the expences that had been diſburſed till that time were loſt.

THE

BOOK XVII.

THE aſſociates, however, were not diſcouraged by this unforeſeen event. From time to time they ſent over a few coloniſts, who by the year 1589, amounted to a hundred and fifty perſons of both ſexes, under a regular government, and fully provided with all they wanted for their defence, and for the purpoſes of agriculture and commerce. Theſe beginnings raiſed ſome expectations, but they were loſt in the diſgrace of Ralegh, who fell a victim to the caprices of his own wild imagination. The colony, having loſt its founder, was totally forgotten.

IT had been thus neglected for twelve years, when Goſnold, one of the firſt aſſociates, reſolved to viſit it in 1602. His experience in navigation made him ſuſpect that the right track had not been found out, and that in ſteering by the Canary and Caribbee iſlands, the voyage had been made longer than it need have been by above a thouſand leagues. Theſe conjectures induced him to ſteer away from the ſouth, and to turn more weſtward. The attempt ſucceeded; but when he reached the American coaſt, he found himſelf further north than any who had gone before. The region where he landed, ſince included in New-England, afforded him plenty of beautiful furs, with which he ſailed back to England.

THE ſpeed and ſucceſs of this undertaking made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the Engliſh merchants. Several joined in 1606 to form a ſettlement in the country that Goſnold had diſcovered. Their example recalled to others the remembrance of Roanoak; and this gave riſe to two charter companies. As the continent where they were to exerciſe their monopoly was then known in England only by the general name of Virginia, the one was called the South Virginia, and the other the North Virginia company.

THE

THE firſt zeal ſoon abated, and there appeared to be more jealouſy than emulation between the two companies. Though they had been favoured with the firſt lottery that ever was drawn in England, their progreſs was ſo ſlow, that in 1614, there were not above four hundred perſons in both ſettlements. That ſort of competency which was ſufficient for the ſimplicity of the manners of the times, was then ſo general in England, that no one was tempted to go abroad by the proſpect of a fortune. It is a ſenſe of misfortune, that gives men a diſlike to their native country, ſtill more than the thirſt of riches. Nothing leſs than an extraordinary ferment could then have peopled even an excellent country. This was at length brought about by ſuperſtition, and excited by the colliſion of religious opinions.

The continent of America is peopled by the religious wars that diſturb England.

THE firſt prieſts of the Britons were the Druids, ſo famous in the annals of Gaul. To throw a myſterious veil upon the ceremonies of a ſavage worſhip, their rights were never performed but in dark receſſes, and generally in gloomy groves, where fear creates ſpectres and apparitions. Only a few perſons were initiated into theſe myſteries, and intruſted with the ſacred doctrines; and even theſe were not allowed to commit any thing to writing upon this important ſubject; leſt their ſecrets ſhould fall into the hands of the prophane vulgar. The altars of a formidable deity were ſtained with the blood of human victims, and enriched with the moſt precious ſpoils of war. Though the dread of the vengeance of heaven was the only guard of theſe treaſures, they were always reverenced by avarice, which the Druids had artfully repreſſed by the fundamental doctrine of the endleſs tranſmigration of the ſoul. The chief authority of government reſided in the miniſters of that terrible religion; becauſe men are more powerfully and more laſtingly

BOOK XVII.

THE aſſociates, however, were not diſcouraged by this unforeſeen event. From time to time they ſent over a few coloniſts, who by the year 1589, amounted to a hundred and fifty perſons of both ſexes, under a regular government, and fully provided with all they wanted for their defence, and for the purpoſes of agriculture and commerce. Theſe beginnings raiſed ſome expectations, but they were loſt in the diſgrace of Ralegh, who fell a victim to the caprices of his own wild imagination. The colony, having loſt its founder, was totally forgotten.

IT had been thus neglected for twelve years, when Goſnold, one of the firſt aſſociates, reſolved to viſit it in 1602. His experience in navigation made him ſuſpect that the right track had not been found out, and that in ſteering by the Canary and Caribbee iſlands, the voyage had been made longer than it need have been by above a thouſand leagues. Theſe conjectures induced him to ſteer away from the ſouth, and to turn more weſtward. The attempt ſucceeded; but when he reached the American coaſt, he found himſelf further north than any who had gone before. The region where he landed, ſince included in New-England, afforded him plenty of beautiful furs, with which he ſailed back to England.

THE ſpeed and ſucceſs of this undertaking made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the Engliſh merchants. Several joined in 1606 to form a ſettlement in the country that Goſnold had diſcovered. Their example recalled to others the remembrance of Roanoak; and this gave riſe to two charter companies. As the continent where they were to exerciſe their monopoly was then known in England only by the general name of Virginia, the one was called the South Virginia, and the other the North Virginia company.

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THE firſt zeal ſoon abated, and there appeared to be more jealouſy than emulation between the two companies. Though they had been favoured with the firſt lottery that ever was drawn in England, their progreſs was ſo ſlow, that in 1614, there were not above four hundred perſons in both ſettlements. That ſort of competency which was ſufficient for the ſimplicity of the manners of the times, was then ſo general in England, that no one was tempted to go abroad by the proſpect of a fortune. It is a ſenſe of misfortune, that gives men a diſlike to their native country, ſtill more than the thirſt of riches. Nothing leſs than an extraordinary ferment could then have peopled even an excellent country. This was at length brought about by ſuperſtition, and excited by the colliſion of religious opinions.

The continent of America is peopled by the religious wars that diſturb England.

THE firſt prieſts of the Britons were the Druids, ſo famous in the annals of Gaul. To throw a myſterious veil upon the ceremonies of a ſavage worſhip, their rights were never performed but in dark receſſes, and generally in gloomy groves, where fear creates ſpectres and apparitions. Only a few perſons were initiated into theſe myſteries, and intruſted with the ſacred doctrines; and even theſe were not allowed to commit any thing to writing upon this important ſubject; leſt their ſecrets ſhould fall into the hands of the prophane vulgar. The altars of a formidable deity were ſtained with the blood of human victims, and enriched with the moſt precious ſpoils of war. Though the dread of the vengeance of heaven was the only guard of theſe treaſures, they were always reverenced by avarice, which the Druids had artfully repreſſed by the fundamental doctrine of the endleſs tranſmigration of the ſoul. The chief authority of government reſided in the miniſters of that terrible religion; becauſe men are more powerfully and more laſtingly

BOOK XVII.

ſwayed by opinion than by any other motive. The education of youth was in their hands; and the aſcendency they aſſumed at that period remained through the reſt of life. They took cognizance of all civil and criminal cauſes, and were as abſolute in their deciſions on ſtate affairs as on the private differences between man and man. Whoever dared to reſiſt their decrees, was not only excluded from all participation in the divine myſteries, but even from the ſociety of men. It was accounted a crime and a reproach to hold any converſe or to have any dealings with him; he was irrevocably deprived of the protection of the laws, and nothing but death could put an end to his miſeries. The hiſtory of human ſuperſtitions affords no inſtance of any one ſo tyrannical as that of the Druids. It was the only one that provoked the Romans to uſe ſeverity, as none oppoſed the power of thoſe conquerors with ſuch violence as the Druids.

THAT religion, however, had loſt much of its influence, when it was totally baniſhed by chriſtianity in the ſeventh century. The northern nations, that had ſucceſſively invaded the ſouthern provinces of Europe, had found there the ſeeds of that new religion, in the ruins of an empire that was falling on all ſides. Whether it was owing to their indifference for their diſtant gods, or to their ignorance which was eaſily perſuaded, they readily embraced a worſhip which from the multiplicity of its ceremonies, could not but attract the notice of rude and ſavage men. The Saxons, who afterwards invaded England, followed their example, and adopted without difficulty a religion that ſecured their conqueſt by aboliſhing the old forms of worſhip.

THE effects were ſuch as might be expected from a religion, the original ſimplicity of which was at that time ſo much diſfigured. Idle contemplations were ſoon ſubſtituted

ſtituted in lieu of active and ſocial virtues; and a ſtupid veneration for unknown ſaints, to the worſhip of the ſupreme Being. Miracles dazzled the eyes of men, and diverted them from attending to natural cauſes. They were taught to believe that prayers and offerings would atone for the moſt heinous crimes. Every ſentiment of reaſon was perverted, and every principle of morality corrupted.

THOSE who had been at leaſt the promoters of this confuſion, knew how to avail themſelves of it. The prieſts obtained that reſpect which was denied to kings; and their perſons became ſacred. The magiſtrate had no inſpection over their conduct, and they even evaded the watchfulneſs of the civil law. Their tribunal eluded and even ſuperceded all others. They found means to introduce religion into every queſtion of law, and into all ſtate affairs, and made themſelves umpires or judges in every cauſe. When faith ſpoke, every one liſtened, in ſilent attention, to its inexplicable oracles. Such was the infatuation of thoſe dark ages, that the ſcandalous exceſſes of the clergy did not weaken their authority.

THIS was owing to its being already founded on great riches. As ſoon as the prieſts had taught that religion, depended principally upon ſacrifices, and required firſt of all that of fortune and earthly poſſeſſions, the nobility, who were ſole proprietors of all eſtates, employed their ſlaves to build churches, and allotted their lands to the endowment of thoſe foundations. Kings gave to the church all that they had extorted from the people; and ſtripped themſelves to ſuch a degree, as even not to leave a ſufficiency for the payment of the army, or for defraying the other charges of government. Theſe deficiencies were never made up by thoſe who were the cauſe of them. They bore no ſhare in the maintenance of ſociety. The

BOOK XVII.

payment of taxes with church money would have been a ſacrilege, and a proſtitution of holy things to profane purpoſes. Such was the declaration of the clergy, and the laity believed them. The poſſeſſion of the third part of the feudal tenures in the kingdom; the free will offerings of a deluded people, and the price ſet upon the prieſtly offices, did not ſatisfy the enormous avidity of the clergy, ever attentive to their own intereſt. They found in the old teſtament that by divine appointment the prieſts had an undoubted right to the tithes of the produce of the land. This claim was ſo readily admitted, that they extended it to the tithe of induſtry, of the profits on trade, of the wages of labourers, of the pay of ſoldiers, and ſometimes of the ſalaries of placemen.

ROME, who at firſt was a ſilent ſpectator of theſe proceedings, and proudly enjoyed the ſucceſs that attended the rich and haughty apoſtles of a Saviour born in obſcurity, and who died an ignominious death, ſoon coveted a ſhare in the ſpoils of England. The firſt ſtep ſhe took was to open a trade for relics, which were always uſhered in with ſome ſtriking miracle, and ſold in proportion to the credulity of the purchaſers. The great men, and even monarchs, were invited to go in pilgrimage to the capital of the world, to purchaſe a place in heaven ſuitable to the rank they held on earth. The popes by degrees aſſumed the preſentation to church preferments, which at firſt they gave away, but afterwards ſold. By theſe means, their tribunal took cognizance of all eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and in time they claimed a tenth of the revenues of the clergy, who themſelves levied the tenth of all the ſubſtance of the realm.

WHEN theſe pious extortions were carried as far as they poſſibly could be in England, Rome aſpired to the ſupreme authority over it. The frauds of her ambition were

were covered with a ſacred veil. She ſapped the foundations of liberty, but it was by employing the influence of opinion only. This was ſetting up men in oppoſition to themſelves, and availing herſelf of their prejudices, in order to acquire an abſolute dominion over them. She uſurped the power of a deſpotic judge between the altar and the throne, between the prince and his ſubjects, between one potentate and another. She kindled the flames of war with her ſpiritual thunders. But ſhe wanted emiſſaries to ſpread the terror of her arms, and made choice of the monks for that purpoſe. The ſecular clergy, notwithſtanding their celibacy, which kept them from worldly connections, had ſtill an attachment to the world by the ties of intereſt, often ſtronger than thoſe of blood. A ſet of men, ſecluded from ſociety by ſingular inſtitutions, which muſt incline them to fanaticiſm, and by a blind ſubmiſſion to the dictates of a foreign pontiff, were beſt adapted to ſecond the views of ſuch a ſovereign. Theſe vile and abject tools of ſuperſtition fulfilled their fatal employment but too ſucceſsfully. With their intrigues, ſeconded by favourable occurrences, England, which had ſo long withſtood the conquering arms of the ancient Roman empire, became tributary to modern Rome.

At length the paſſions and violent caprices of Henry VIII. broke the ſcandalous dependence. The abuſe of ſo infamous a power had already opened the eyes of the nation. The prince ventured at once to ſhake off the authority of the pope, aboliſh monaſteries, and aſſume the ſupremacy over his own church.

This open ſchiſm was followed by other alterations in the reign of Edward, ſon and ſucceſſor to Henry. The religious opinions, which were then changing the face of Europe, were openly diſcuſſed. Something was taken

BOOK XVII.

from every one; many doctrines and rites of the old religion were retained; and from these several systems or tenets, arose a new communion, distinguished by the name of the church of England.

Elizabeth, who completed this important work, found theory alone too subtle, and thought it most expedient to captivate the senses, by the addition of some ceremonies. Her natural taste for grandeur, and the desire of putting a stop to the disputes about points of doctrine, by entertaining the eye with the external parade of worship, made her inclined to adopt a greater number of religious rites. But she was restrained by political considerations, and was obliged to sacrifice something to the prejudices of a party that had raised her to the throne, and was able to maintain her upon it.

Far from suspecting that James I. would execute what Elizabeth had not even dared to attempt, it might be expected that he would rather have been inclined to restrain ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies. That prince, who had been trained up in the principles of the presbyterians, a sect, who with much spiritual pride, affected great simplicity of dress, gravity of manners, and austerity of doctrine, and loved to speak in scripture phrases, and to make use of none but scripture names for their children. One would have supposed that such an education must have prejudiced the king against the outward pomp of the catholic worship, and every thing that bore any affinity to it. But the spirit of system prevailed in him over the principles of education. Struck with the episcopal jurisdiction which he found established in England, and which he thought conformable to his own notions of civil government, he abandoned from conviction the early impressions he had received, and grew passionately fond of a hierarchy modelled upon the political œconomy of a well

well conſtituted empire. In his enthuſiaſm, he wanted to introduce this wonderful diſcipline into Scotland, his native country, and to unite to it a great many of the Engliſh, who ſtill diſſented from it. He even intended to add the pomp of the moſt awful ceremonies to the majeſtic plan, if he could have carried his grand projects into execution. But the oppoſition he met with at firſt ſetting out, would not permit him to advance any further in his ſyſtem of reformation. He contented himſelf with recommending to his ſon to reſume his views, whenever the times ſhould furniſh a favourable opportunity; and repreſented the preſbyterians to him as alike dangerous to religion and to the throne.

CHARLES readily adopted his advice, which was but too conformable to the principles of deſpotiſm he had imbibed from Buckingham his favourite, the moſt corrupt of men, and the corrupter of the courtiers. To pave the way to the revolution he was meditating, he promoted ſeveral biſhops to the higheſt dignities in the government, and conferred on them moſt of the offices that gave the greateſt influence on public meaſures. Thoſe ambitious prelates, now become the maſters of a prince who had been weak enough to be guided by the inſtigations of others, betrayed that ambition ſo familiar to the clergy, of raiſing up eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction under the ſhadow of the royal prerogative. They multiplied the church ceremonies without end, under pretence of their being of apoſtolical inſtitution, and to inforce their obſervance, had recourſe to royal acts of arbitrary power. It was evident that there was a ſettled deſign of reſtoring, in all its ſplendour, what the proteſtants called Romiſh idolatry, though the moſt violent means ſhould be neceſſary to compaſs it. This project gave the more umbrage, as it was ſupported by the prejudices and in-

BOOK XVII.

trigues of a presumptuous queen, who had brought from France an immoderate passion for popery and arbitrary power.

It can scarce be imagined what acrimony these alarming suspicions had raised in the minds of the people. Common prudence would have allowed time for the ferment to subside. But the spirit of fanaticism made choice of those troublesome times to recall every thing to the unity of the church of England, which was become more odious to the dissenters, since so many customs had been introduced into it which they considered as superstitious. An order was issued, that both kingdoms should conform to the worship and discipline of the episcopal church. This law included the presbyterians, who then began to be called puritans, because they professed to take the pure and simple word of God for the rule of their faith and practice. It was extended likewise to all the foreign Calvinists that were in the kingdom, whatever difference there might be in their opinions. This hierarchal worship was enjoined to the regiments, and trading companies, that were in the several countries in Europe. Lastly, the English ambassadors were required to separate from all communion with the foreign protestants, so that England lost all the influence she had abroad, as the head and support of the reformation.

In this fatal crisis, most of the puritans were divided between submission and opposition. Those who would neither stoop to yield, nor take the pains to resist, turned their views towards North-America, to seek for that civil and religious liberty which their ungrateful country denied them. The enemies of their peace attempted to shut this retreat against these devout fugitives, who wanted to worship God in their own way in a desert land. Eight ships that lay at anchor in the Thames ready to sail,

BOOK XVII.

ſail, were ſtopped; and Cromwell is ſaid to have been detained there by that very king, whom he afterwards brought to the ſcaffold. Enthuſiaſm, however, ſtronger than the rage of perſecution, ſurmounted every obſtacle; and that region of America was ſoon filled with preſbyterians. The comfort they enjoyed in their retreat, gradually induced all thoſe of their party to follow them, who were not atrocious enough to take delight in thoſe dreadful cataſtrophes which ſoon after made England a ſcene of blood and horror. Many were afterwards induced to remove thither in more peaceable times, with a view to advance their fortunes. In a word, all Europe contributed greatly to increaſe their population. Thouſands of unhappy men, oppreſſed by the tyranny or intolerant ſpirit of their ſovereigns, took refuge in that hemiſphere. Let us now endeavour to acquire ſome information reſpecting that country.

Parallel between the old and the new world.

It is ſurpriſing that for ſo long a time, ſo little ſhould have been known of the new world even after it was diſcovered. Barbarous ſoldiers and rapacious merchants were not proper perſons to give us juſt and clear notions of this half of the Univerſe. It was the province of philoſophy alone to avail itſelf of the informations ſcattered in the accounts of voyagers and miſſionaries, in order to ſee America ſuch as nature hath made it; and to inveſtigate its affinity with the reſt of the globe.

It is now pretty certain that the new continent has not half the extent of ſurface as the old. On the other hand, the form of both is ſo ſingularly alike, that we might eaſily be ſeduced to draw conſequences from this particular, if it were not always right to be upon our guard againſt the ſpirit of ſyſtem which often ſtops us in our reſearches after truth, and hinders us from attaining to it.

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BOOK XVII.

THE two continents ſeem to form as it were two broad ſlips of land that begin from the arctic pole, and terminate at the tropic of Capricorn, parted on the eaſt and weſt by the Ocean that ſurrounds them. Whatever may be the ſtructure of theſe two continents, and the balance or ſymmetry of their form; it is plain their equilibrium does not depend upon their poſition. It is the inconſtancy of the ſea that makes the ſolidity of the earth. To fix the globe upon its baſis, it ſeemed neceſſary to have an element which, floating inceſſantly round our planet, might by its weight counterbalance all other ſubſtances, and by its fluidity reſtore that equilibrium which the conflict of the other elements might have overthrown. Water, by the motion that is natural to it and by its gravity likewiſe, is infinitely better calculated to keep up that harmony and that balance of the ſeveral parts of the globe round its center. If our hemiſphere has a very wide extent of land to the North, a maſs of water of equal weight at the oppoſite part will certainly produce an equilibrium. If under the tropics we have a rich country covered with men and animals; under the ſame latitude America will have a ſea full of fiſh. Whilſt foreſts of trees, bending under the largeſt fruits, the moſt enormous quadrupeds, the moſt populous nations, elephants and men preſs on the ſurface of the earth, and ſeem to abſorb all its fertility throughout the torrid zone; at both poles are found the whales with innumerable multitudes of cods and herrings, with clouds of inſects, and all the infinite and prodigious tribes that inhabit the ſeas, as if to ſupport the axis of the earth, and prevent its inclining or deviating to either ſide; if, however, elephants, whales or men can be ſaid to have any weight on a globe, where all living creatures are but a tranſient modification of the earth that compoſes it. In a word,

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the ocean rolls over this globe to fashion it, in conformity to the general laws of gravity. Sometimes it covers and sometimes it uncovers a hemisphere, a pole or a zone; but in general it seems to affect more particularly the equator, as the cold of the poles in some measure takes off that fluidity which constitutes its essence, and imparts to it all its action. It is chiefly between the tropics that the sea spreads and is in motion, and that it undergoes the greatest change both in its regular and periodical motions, as well as in those kinds of convulsions occasionally excited in it by tempestuous winds. The attraction of the sun, and the fermentations occasioned by its continual heat in the torrid zone, must have a very remarkable influence upon the ocean. The motion of the moon adds a new force to this influence, and the sea, to yield to this double impulse, must, it should seem, flow towards the equator. The flatness of the globe towards the poles can only be ascribed to that great extent of water that has hitherto prevented our knowing any thing of the lands near the South pole. The sea cannot easily pass from within the tropics, if the temperate and frozen zones are not nearer the center of the earth than the torrid zone. It is the sea then that constitutes the equilibrium with the land, and disposes the arrangement of the materials that compose it. One proof that the two regular slips of land which the two continents of the globe present at first view are not essentially necessary to its conformation, is, that the new hemisphere has remained covered with the waters of the sea, a much longer time than the old. Besides, if there is a visible affinity between the two hemispheres, there may be differences between them as striking as the similitude is, which will destroy that supposed harmony we flatter ourselves that we shall find.

WHEN

BOOK XVII.

When we conſider the map of the world, and ſee the local correſpondence there is between the iſthmus of Suez and that of Panama, between the cape of Good Hope and cape Horn, between the Archipelago of the Eaſt-Indies and that of the Leeward iſlands, and between the mountains of Chili and thoſe of Monomotapa; we are ſtruck with the ſimilarity of the ſeveral forms this picture preſents. Every where we imagine we ſee land oppoſite to land, water to water, iſlands and peninſulas ſcattered by the hand of nature to ſerve as a counterpoiſe, and the ſea by its fluctation conſtantly maintaining the balance of the whole. But if on the other hand we compare the great extent of the Pacific Ocean, which parts the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, with the ſmall ſpace the Ocean occupies between the coaſt of Guinea and that of Brazil; the vaſt quantity of inhabited land to the North, with the little we know towards the South; the direction of the mountains of Tartary and Europe, which is from Eaſt to Weſt, with that of the Cordeleras which run from North to South; the mind is at a ſtand, and we have the mortification to ſee the order and ſymmetry vaniſh with which we had embelliſhed our ſyſtem of the earth. The obſerver is ſtill more diſpleaſed with his conjectures, when he conſiders the immenſe height of the mountains of Peru. Then, indeed, he is aſtoniſhed to ſee a continent ſo high and ſo lately diſcovered, the ſea ſo far below its tops, and ſo recently come down from the lands that ſeemed to be effectually defended from its attacks by thoſe tremendous bulwarks. It is, however, an undeniable fact, that both continents of the new hemiſphere have been covered with the ſea. The air and the land confirm this truth.

The broad and long rivers of America; the immenſe foreſts to the South; the ſpacious lakes and vaſt moraſſes to the North; the eternal ſnows between the tropics; few

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of thoſe pure ſands that ſeem to be the remains of an exhauſted ground; no men entirely black; very fair people under the line; a cool and mild air in the ſame latitude as the ſultry and uninhabitable parts of Africa; a frozen and ſevere climate under the ſame parallel as our temperate climates; and laſtly, a difference of ten or twelve degrees, in the temperature of the old and new hemiſpheres, theſe are ſo many tokens of a world that is ſtill in its infancy.

WHY ſhould the continent of America be ſo much warmer and ſo much colder in proportion than that of Europe, if it were not for the moiſture the ocean has left behind, by quitting it long after our continent was peopled? Nothing but the ſea can poſſibly have prevented Mexico from being inhabited as early as Aſia. If the waters that ſtill moiſten the bowels of the earth in the new hemiſphere had not covered its ſurface, man would very early have cut down the woods, drained the fens, conſolidated a ſoft and watery ſoil, by ſtirring it up, and expoſing it to the rays of the ſun, opened a free paſſage to the winds, and raiſed dikes along the rivers: in ſhort, the climate would have been totally altered by this time. But a rude and unpeopled hemiſphere denotes a recent world; when the ſea, rolling in the neighbourhood of its coaſts, ſtill flows obſcurely in its channels. The ſun leſs ſcorching, more plentiful rains, and thicker and more ſtagnating vapours, betray either the decay or the infancy of nature.

THE difference of climate, ariſing from the waters having lain ſo long on the ground in America, could not but have a great influence on men and animals. From this diverſity of cauſes, muſt neceſſarily ariſe a very great diverſity of effects. Accordingly we ſee more ſpecies of animals by two thirds, in the old continent than in the new;

BOOK XVII.

new; animals of the ſame kind conſiderably larger; fiercer and more ſavage monſters, in proportion to the greater increaſe of mankind. On the other hand, nature ſeems to have ſtrangely neglected the new world. The men have leſs ſtrength and leſs courage; no beard and no hair; they are degraded in all the tokens of manhood; and but little ſuſceptible of the lively and powerful ſentiment of love, which is the principle of every attachment, the firſt inſtinct, the firſt band of ſociety, without which all the other factitious ties have neither energy nor duration. The women, who are ſtill more weak, are neither favourably treated by nature nor by the men, who have but little love for them, and conſider them as the inſtruments that are to furniſh to their wants; they rather ſacrifice them to their own indolence, than conſecrate them to their pleaſures. This indolence is the great delight and ſupreme felicity of the Americans, of which the women are the victims by the continual labours impoſed upon them. It muſt, however, be confeſſed that in America, as in all other parts, the men, when they have ſentenced the women to work, have been ſo equitable as to take upon themſelves the perils of war, together with the toils of hunting and fiſhing. But their indifference for the ſex, which nature has intruſted with the care of reproducing the ſpecies, implies an imperfection in their organs, a ſort of ſtate of childhood in the people of America, as in thoſe of our continent, who are not yet arrived to the age of puberty. This is a radical vice in the other hemiſphere, the novelty of which is diſcovered by this kind of imperfection.

But if the Americans are a new people, are they a race of men originally diſtinct from thoſe that cover the face of the old world? This is a queſtion which ought not to be haſtily decided. The origin of the population of

of America is involved in inextricable difficulties. If we aſſert that the Greenlanders firſt came from Norway, and then went over to the coaſt of Labrador; others will tell us it is more natural to ſuppoſe that the Greenlanders are ſprung from the Eſquimaux, to whom they bear a greater reſemblance than to the Europeans. If we ſhould ſuppoſe that California was peopled from Kamtſchatka, it may be aſked what motive or what chance could have led the Tartars to the north-weſt of America. Yet it is imagined to be from Greenland or from Kamtſchatka that the inhabitants of the old world muſt have gone over to the new, as it is by thoſe two countries that the two continents are connected, or at leaſt approach neareſt to one another. Beſides, how can we conceive that in America the torrid zone can have been peopled from one of the frozen zones? Population will indeed ſpread from north to ſouth, but it muſt naturally have begun under the equator, where life is cheriſhed by warmth. If the people of America could not come from our continent, and yet appear to be a new race, we muſt have recourſe to the flood, which is the ſource and the ſolution of all difficulties in the hiſtory of nations.

Let us ſuppoſe that the ſea having overflowed the other hemiſphere, its old inhabitants took refuge upon the Apalachian mountains, and the Cordeleras, which are far higher than our mount Ararat. But how could they have lived upon thoſe heights, covered with ſnow, and ſurrounded with waters? How is it poſſible that men who had breathed in a pure and delightful climate, could have ſurvived the miſeries of want, the inclemency of a tainted air, and thoſe numberleſs calamities, which muſt be the unavoidable conſequences of a deluge? How will the race have been preſerved and propagated in thoſe times of general calamity, and in the ſucceeding ages of a languid exiſtence?

BOOK XVII.

exiſtence? In defiance of all theſe obſtacles, we muſt allow that America has been peopled by theſe wretched remains of the great devaſtation. Every thing carries the veſtiges of a malady, of which the human race ſtill feels the effects. The ruin of that world is ſtill imprinted on its inhabitants. They are a ſpecies of men degraded and degenerated in their natural conſtitution, in their ſtature, in their way of life, and in their underſtandings, which have made ſo little progreſs in all the arts of civilization. A damper air, and a more marſhy ground, muſt neceſſarily infect the very roots and ſeeds both of the ſubſiſtence and multiplication of mankind. It muſt have required ſome ages to reſtore population, and ſtill a greater number before the ground could be ſettled and dried, ſo as to be fit for tillage, and for the foundation of buildings. The earth muſt neceſſarily be purified before the air could clear, and the air muſt be clear before the earth could be rendered habitable. The imperfection therefore of nature in America is not a proof of its recent origin, but of its regeneration. It was probably peopled at the ſame time as the other hemiſphere, but may have been overflown later. The large foſſil bones that are found under ground in America, ſhew that it formerly had elephants, rhinoceros, and other enormous quadrupeds, which have ſince diſappeared from thoſe regions. The gold and ſilver mines that are found juſt below the ſurface, are ſigns of a very ancient revolution of the globe, but later than thoſe that have overturned our hemiſphere.

SUPPOSE America had, by ſome means or other, been repeopled by our roving hords, that period would be ſo remote, that it would ſtill give great antiquity to the inhabitants of that hemiſphere. Three or four centuries will not then be ſufficient to allow for the foundation of the empires of Mexico and Peru; for though we find no trace

trace in theſe countries of our arts, or of the opinions and cuſtoms that prevail in other parts of the globe, yet we have found a police and a ſociety eſtabliſhed, inventions and practices which, though they did not ſhew any marks of times anterior to the deluge, yet they implied a long ſeries of ages ſubſequent to this cataſtrophe. For, though in Mexico, as in Egypt, a country ſurrounded with waters, mountains, and other invincible obſtacles, muſt have forced the men incloſed in it to unite after a time, though they might at firſt live in altercations and in continual and bloody wars; yet it was only in proceſs of time that they could invent and eſtabliſh a worſhip and a legiſlation, which they could not, poſſibly, have borrowed from remote times or countries. The ſingle art of ſpeech, and that of writing, though but in hieroglyphics, required more ages to train up an unconnected nation that muſt have created both thoſe arts, than it would take up days to perfect a child in both. Ages bear not the ſame proportion to the whole race as years do to individuals. The former is to occupy a vaſt field, both as to ſpace and duration, while the other has only ſome moments or inſtants of time to fill up, or rather to run over. The likeneſs and uniformity obſervable in the features and manners of the American nations, plainly ſhew that they are not ſo ancient as thoſe of our continent which differ ſo much from each other; but at the ſame time this circumſtance ſeems to confirm that they did not proceed from any foreign hemiſphere, with which they have no kind of affinity that can indicate an immediate deſcent.

Compariſon between civilized people and ſavages.

WHATEVER may be the caſe with regard to their origin or their antiquity, which are both uncertain, a more intereſting object of inquiry, perhaps, is, to determine whether theſe untutored nations are more or leſs happy than

BOOK XVII.

than our civilized people. Let us, therefore, examine whether the condition of rude man left to mere animal inſtinct, whoſe day which is ſpent in hunting, feeding, producing his ſpecies, and repoſing himſelf, is the model of all the reſt of his days, is better or worſe than the condition of that wonderful being, who makes his bed of down, ſpins and weaves the thread of the ſilk-worm to clothe himſelf, has exchanged the cave his original abode, for a palace, and has varied his indulgences and his wants in a thouſand different ways.

It is in the nature of man that we muſt look for his means of happineſs. What does he want to be as happy as he can be? Preſent ſubſiſtence; and, if he thinks of futurity, the hopes and certainty of enjoying that bleſſing. The ſavage, who has not been driven to the frigid zones, is not in want of this firſt of neceſſaries. If he lays in no ſtores, it is becauſe the earth and the ſea are reſervoirs always open to ſupply his wants. Fiſh and game are to be had all the year, and will make up for the deficiency of the dead ſeaſons. The ſavage has no cloſe houſes, or commodious fire-places; but his furs anſwer all the purpoſes of the roof, the garment and the ſtove. He works but for his own benefit, ſleeps when he is weary, and is a ſtranger to watchings and reſtleſs nights. War is a matter of choice to him. Danger, like labour, is a condition of his nature, not a profeſſion annexed to his birth, a duty of the nation, not a family bondage. The ſavage is ſerious but not melancholy; and his countenance ſeldom bears the impreſſion of thoſe paſſions and diſorders that leave ſuch ſhocking and fatal marks on ours. He cannot feel the want of what he does not deſire, nor can he deſire what he is ignorant of. Moſt of the conveniences of life are remedies for evils he does not feel. Pleaſures are a relief to appetites which

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are not excited in his ſenſations. He ſeldom experiences any of that wearineſs that ariſes from unſatisfied deſires, or that emptineſs and uneaſineſs of mind that is the offſpring of prejudice and vanity. In a word, the ſavage is ſubject to none but natural evils. BOOK XVII.

But what greater happineſs than this does the civilized man enjoy? His food is more wholeſome and delicate than that of the ſavage. He has ſofter clothes, and a habitation better ſecured againſt the inclemencies of the weather. But the common people, who are to be the baſis and object of civil ſociety, thoſe numbers of men who in all ſtates bear the burden of hard labour, cannot be ſaid to live happy, either in thoſe empires where the conſequences of war and the imperfection of the police has reduced them to a ſtate of ſlavery, or in thoſe governments where the progreſs of luxury and policy has reduced them to a ſtate of ſervitude. The mixt governments ſometimes afford ſome ſparks of happineſs, founded on a ſhadow of liberty; but this happineſs is purchaſed by torrents of blood, which repel tyranny for a time only to let it fall the heavier upon the devoted nation, ſooner or later doomed to oppreſſion. Let us but obſerve how Caligula and Nero have revenged the expulſion of the Tarquins and the death of Cæſar.

Tyranny, we are told, is the work of the people, and not of kings. But if ſo, why do they ſuffer it? Why do they not repel the encroachments of deſpotiſm; and while it employs violence and artifice to enſlave all the faculties of men, why do they not oppoſe it with all their powers? But is it lawful to murmur and complain under the rod of the oppreſſor? Will it not exaſperate and provoke him to purſue the victim to death? The cries of ſervitude he calls rebellion, and they are to be ſtifled in a dungeon, and ſometimes on a ſcaffold. The

BOOK XVII.

man who ſhould aſſert the rights of man, would periſh in neglect and infamy. Tyranny, therefore, muſt be endured, under the name of authority.

If ſo to what outrages is not the civilized man expoſed! If he is poſſeſſed of any property, he knows not how far he may call it his own, when he muſt divide the produce between the courtier who may attack his eſtate, the lawyer who muſt be paid for teaching him how to preſerve it, the ſoldier who may lay it waſte, and the collector who comes to levy unlimited taxes. If he has no property, how can he be aſſured of a permanent ſubſiſtence? What ſpecies of induſtry is there ſecured againſt the viciſſitudes of fortune, and the encroachments of government?

In the foreſts of America, if there is a ſcarcity in the north, the ſavages bend their courſe to the ſouth. The wind or the ſun will drive a wandering clan to more temperate climates. Between the gates and bars that ſhut up our civilized ſtates, if famine, war, or peſtilence ſhould conſume an empire, it is a priſon where all muſt expect to periſh in miſery, or in the horrors of ſlaughter. The man who is unfortunately born there muſt endure all extortions, all the ſeverities, that the inclemency of the ſeaſons and the injuſtice of government may bring upon him.

In our provinces, the vaſſal, or free mercenary digs and ploughs the whole year round, on lands that are not his own, and whoſe produce does not belong to him, and he is even happy, if his aſſiduous labour procures him a ſhare of the crops he has ſown and reaped. Obſerved and harraſſed by a hard and reſtleſs landlord, who grudges him the very ſtraw on which he reſts his weary limbs, the wretch is daily expoſed to diſeaſes which joined to his poverty, make him wiſh for death, rather than for an expenſive cure, followed by infirmities and toil. Whether tenant

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or ſubject, he is doubly a ſlave; if he has a few acres, his lord comes and gathers where he has not ſown; if he is worth but a yoke of oxen or a pair of horſes, he muſt go with them upon ſervices; if he has nothing but his perſon, the prince takes him for a ſoldier. Every where he meets with maſters, and always with oppreſſion.

In our cities, the workman and the artiſt who have eſtabliſhments are at the mercy of greedy and idle maſters, who by the privilege of monopoly have purchaſed of government a power of making induſtry work for nothing, and of ſelling its labours at a very high price. The lower claſs have no more than the ſight of that luxury of which they are doubly the victims, by the watchings and fatigues it occaſions them, and by the inſolence of the pomp that mortifies and tramples upon them.

Even ſuppoſing that the dangerous labours of our quarries, mines and forges, with all the arts that are performed by fire, and that perils of navigation and commerce were leſs pernicious than the roving life of the ſavages, who live upon hunting and fiſhing: ſuppoſe that men who are ever lamenting the ſorrows and affronts that ariſe merely from opinion, are leſs unhappy than the ſavages, who never ſhed a tear in the midſt of the moſt excruciating tortures; there would ſtill remain a wide difference between the fate of the civilized man and the wild Indian, a difference entirely to the diſadvantage of ſocial life. This is the injuſtice that reigns in the partial diſtribution of fortunes and ſtations; an inequality which is at once the effect and the cauſe of oppreſſion.

In vain does cuſtom, prejudice, ignorance and hard labour ſtupify the lower claſs of mankind, ſo as to render them inſenſible of their degradation; neither religion nor morality can hinder them from ſeeing and feeling the in-

BOOK XVII.

juſtice of political order in the diſtribution of good and evil. How often have we heard the poor man expoſtulating with heaven, and aſking what he had done, that he ſhould deſerve to be born in an indigent and dependent ſtation. Even if great conflicts were inſeparable from the more exalted ſtations, which might be ſufficient to balance all the advantages and all the ſuperiority that the ſocial ſtate claims over the ſtate of nature, ſtill the obſcure man, who is unacquainted with thoſe conflicts, ſees nothing in a high rank, but that affluence which is the cauſe of his own poverty. He envies the rich man thoſe pleaſures to which he is ſo accuſtomed, that he has loſt all reliſh for them. What domeſtic can have a real affection for his maſter, or what is the attachment of a ſervant? Was ever any prince truly beloved by his courtiers, even when he was hated by his ſubjects? If we prefer our condition to that of the ſavages, it is becauſe civil life has made us incapable of bearing ſome natural hardſhips which the ſavage is more expoſed to than we are, and becauſe we are attached to ſome indulgences that cuſtom has made neceſſary to us. Even in the vigour of life, a civilized man may accuſtom himſelf to live among ſavages, and return to the ſtate of nature. We have an inſtance of this in that Scotchman who was caſt away on the iſland of Fernandez, where he lived alone, and was happy as ſoon as he was ſo taken up with ſupplying his wants, as to forget his own country, his language, his name, and even the utterance of words. After four years, he felt himſelf eaſed of the burden of ſocial life, when he had loſt all reflection or thought of the paſt, and all anxiety for the future.

Lastly, the conſciouſneſs of independence being one of the firſt inſtincts in man, he who enjoys this primitive right, with a moral certainty of a competent ſubſiſtence, is

is incomparably happier than the rich man, reſtrained by laws, maſters, prejudices and faſhions, which inceſſantly remind him of the loſs of his liberty. To compare the ſtate of the ſavages to that of children, is to decide at once the queſtion that has been ſo warmly debated by philoſophers, concerning the advantages of the ſtate of nature and that of ſocial life. Children, notwithſtanding the reſtraints of education, are in the happieſt age of human life. Their habitual chearfulneſs, when they are not under the ſchoolmaſter's rod, is the ſureſt indication of the happineſs they feel. After all, a ſingle word may determine this great queſtion. Let us aſk the civilized man whether he is happy; and the ſavage whether he is unhappy. If they both anſwer in the negative, the diſpute is at an end.

CIVILIZED nations, this parallel muſt certainly be mortifying to you: but you cannot too ſtrongly feel the weight of the calamities under which you groan. The more painful this ſenſation is, the more will it awaken your attention to the true cauſes of your ſufferings. You may at laſt be convinced that they proceed from the confuſion of your opinions, from the defects of your political conſtitutions, and from capricious laws, which are in continual oppoſition to the laws of nature.

AFTER this inquiry into the moral ſtate of the Americans, let us return to the natural ſtate of their country. Let us ſee what it was before the arrival of the Engliſh, and what it is become under their dominion.

In what ſtate the Engliſh found North America, and what they have done there.

THE firſt Europeans who went over to ſettle Engliſh colonies, found immenſe foreſts. The vaſt trees that grew up to the clouds, were ſo encumbered with creeping plants, that they could not be got at. The wild beaſts made theſe woods ſtill more inacceſſible. They met only with a few ſavages, clothed with the ſkins of thoſe mon-

BOOK XVII.

ſters. The human race, thinly ſcattered, fled from each other, or purſued only with intent to deſtroy. The earth ſeemed uſeleſs to man, and its powers were not exerted ſo much for his ſupport, as in the breeding of animals, more obedient to the laws of nature. The earth produced every thing at pleaſure without aſſiſtance and without direction; it yielded all its bounties with uncontrouled profuſion for the benefit of all, not for the pleaſures or conveniences of one ſpecies of beings. The rivers now glided freely through the foreſts, now ſpread themſelves quietly in a wide moraſs, from whence iſſuing in various ſtreams, they formed a multitude of iſlands, encompaſſed with their channels. The ſpring was reſtored from the ſpoils of autumn. The leaves dried and rotted at the foot of the trees, ſupplied them with freſh ſap to enable them to ſhoot out new bloſſoms. The hollow trunks of trees afforded a retreat to prodigious flights of birds. The ſea, daſhing againſt the coaſts, and indenting the gulphs, threw up ſhoals of amphibious monſters, enormous whales, crabs and turtles, that ſported uncontrouled on the deſert ſhores. There nature exerted her plaſtic power, inceſſantly producing the gigantic inhabitants of the ocean, and aſſerting the freedom of the earth and the ſea.

But man appeared, and immediately changed the face of North America. He introduced ſymmetry, by the aſſiſtance of all the inſtruments of art. The impenetrable woods were inſtantly cleared, and made room for commodious habitations. The wild beaſts were driven away, and flocks of domeſtic animals ſupplied their place; whilſt thorns and briars made way for rich harveſts. The waters forſook part of their domain, and were drained off into the interior parts of the land, or into the ſea, by deep canals. The coaſts were covered with towns, and the bays

bays with ſhips; and thus the new world, like the old, became ſubject to man. What powerful engines have raiſed that wonderful ſtructure of European induſtry and policy? Let us reſume the particulars. In the remoteſt part ſtands a ſolitary object, diſtinct from the whole, which is called Hudſon's bay.

Climate of Hudſon's bay, and cuſtoms of its inhabitants. Trade carried on there.

THIS bay, of about ten degrees in length, is formed by the ocean in the diſtant and northern parts of America. The breadth of the entrance is about ſix leagues, but it is only to be attempted from the beginning of July to the end of September, and is even then extremely dangerous. This danger ariſes from mountains of ice, ſome of which are ſaid to be from 15 to 18 hundred feet thick, and which having been produced by winters of five or ſix years duration in little gulphs conſtantly filled with ſnow, are forced out of them by north weſt winds, or by ſome other extraordinary cauſe. The beſt way of avoiding them is to keep as near as poſſible to the northern coaſt, which muſt neceſſarily be leſs obſtructed and moſt free by the natural directions of both winds and currents.

THE north-weſt wind, which blows almoſt conſtantly in winter, and very often in ſummer, frequently raiſes violent ſtorms within the bay itſelf, which is rendered ſtill more dangerous by the number of ſhoals that are found there. Happily, however, ſmall groups of iſlands are met with at different diſtances, which are of a ſufficient height to afford a ſhelter from the ſtorm. Beſides theſe ſmall Archipelagoes, there are in many places large piles of bare rock, but except the Alga Marina, the bay produces as few vegetables as the other northern ſeas. Throughout all the countries ſurrounding this bay, the ſun never riſes or ſets without forming a great cone of light; this phœnomenon is ſucceeded by the Aurora Borealis,

BOOK XVII.

realis, which tinges the hemiſphere with coloured rays of ſuch a brilliancy, that the ſplendour of them is not effaced even by that of the full moon. Notwithſtanding this, there is ſeldom a bright ſky. In ſpring and autumn, the air is always filled with thick fogs, and in winter, with an infinite number of ſmall icecles.

THOUGH the heats in the ſummer are pretty conſiderable for ſix weeks or two months, there is ſeldom any thunder or lightning, owing, no doubt, to the great number of ſulphureous exhalations, which, however, are ſometimes ſet on fire by the Aurora Borealis; and this light flame conſumes the barks of the trees, but leaves their trunks untouched.

ONE of the effects of the extreme cold or ſnow that prevails in this climate, is that of turning thoſe animals white in winter, which are naturally brown or grey. Nature has beſtowed upon them all, ſoft, long and thick furs, the hair of which falls off as the weather grows milder. In moſt of theſe quadrupeds, the feet, the tail, the ears, and generally ſpeaking all thoſe parts in which the circulation is ſlower, becauſe they are moſt remote from the heart, are extremely ſhort. Wherever they happen to be ſomething longer, they are proportionably well covered. Under this heavy ſky, all liquors become ſolid by freezing, and break whatever veſſels contain them. Even ſpirits of wine loſes its fluidity. It is not uncommon to ſee fragments of large rocks looſened and detached from the great maſs, by the force of the froſt. All theſe phœnomena, common enough during the whole winter, are much more terrible at the new and full moon, which in theſe regions has an influence upon the weather, the cauſes of which are not known.

IN this frozen zone, iron, lead, copper, marble, and a ſubſtance reſembling ſea coal, have been diſcovered.

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In other reſpects, the ſoil is extremely barren. Except the coaſts, which are for the moſt part marſhy, where there grows a little graſs and ſome ſoft wood, the reſt of the country offers nothing but very high moſs and a few weak ſhrubs very thinly ſcattered.

This ſterility of nature extends itſelf to every thing. The human race are few in number, and ſcarce any of its individuals above four feet high. Their heads bear the ſame enormous proportion to the reſt of their bodies, as thoſe of children do. The ſmallneſs of their feet makes them aukward and tottering in their gait. Small hands and a round mouth, which in Europe are reckoned a beauty, ſeem almoſt a deformity in theſe people, becauſe we ſee nothing here but the effects of a weak organization, and of a cold, that contracts and reſtrains the ſprings of growth, and is fatal to the progreſs of animal as well as of vegetable life. Beſides this, all their men, though they have neither hair nor beard, have the appearance of being old. This is partly occaſioned from the formation of their lower lip, which is thick, fleſhy, and projecting beyond the upper. Such are the Eſquimaux, which inhabit not only the coaſt of Labrador, from whence they have taken their name, but likewiſe all that tract of country, which extends itſelf from the point of Belle-Iſle to the moſt northern parts of America.

The inhabitants of Hudſon's bay have, like the Greenlanders, a flat face with ſhort but not flattened noſes, the pupil yellow and the iris black. Their women have marks of deformity peculiar to their ſex, amongſt others very long and flabby breaſts. This defect, which is not natural, ariſes from their cuſtom of giving ſuck to their children till they are five or ſix years old. The children pull their mothers breaſts with their hands, and almoſt ſuſpend themſelves by them.

BOOK XVII.

It is not true that there are races of the Eſquimaux entirely black, as has been ſince ſuppoſed, and afterwards accounted for, nor that they live under ground. How ſhould they dig into a ſoil, which the cold renders harder than ſtone? How is it poſſible they ſhould live in caverns where they would be infallibly drowned by the firſt melting of the ſnows? What, however, is certain and almoſt equally ſurpriſing is, that they ſpend the winter under huts run up in haſte, and made of flints joined together with cements of ice, where they live without any other fire but that of a lamp hung up in the middle of the ſhed, for the purpoſe of dreſſing their game and the fiſh they feed upon. The heat of their blood, and of their breath, added to the vapour ariſing from this ſmall flame, is ſufficient to make their huts as hot as ſtoves.

The Eſquimaux dwell conſtantly near the ſea, which ſupplies them with all their proviſions. Both their conſtitution and complexion partake of the quality of their food. The fleſh of the ſeal is their food, and the oil of the whale is their drink, which produces in them all an olive complexion, a ſtrong ſmell of fiſh, an oily and tenacious ſweat, and ſometimes a ſort of ſcaly leproſy. This laſt is, probably, the reaſon why the mothers have the ſame cuſtom as the bears of licking their young ones.

This nation, weak and degraded by nature, is notwithſtanding moſt intrepid upon a ſea that is conſtantly dangerous. In boats made and ſowed together like ſo many Borachios, but at the ſame time ſo well cloſed, that it is impoſſible for the water to penetrate them, they follow the ſhoals of herrings through the whole of their polar emigrations, and attack the whales and ſeals at the peril of their lives. One ſtroke of the whale's tail is ſufficient to drown a hundred of them, and the ſeal is armed with teeth to devour thoſe he cannot drown, but the

the hunger of the Eſquimaux is ſuperior to the rage of theſe monſters. They have an inordinate thirſt for the whale's oil, which is neceſſary to preſerve the heat in their ſtomachs, and defend them from the ſeverity of the cold. Indeed whales, men, birds, and all the quadrupeds and fiſh of the north are ſupplied by nature with a degree of fat which prevents the muſcles from freezing, and the blood from coagulating. Every thing in theſe arctic regions is either oily or gummy, and even the trees are reſinous.

The Eſquimaux are notwithſtanding ſubject to two fatal diſorders, the ſcurvy and the loſs of ſight. The continuation of the ſnows on the ground, joined to the reverberation of the rays of the ſun on the ice, dazzle their eyes in ſuch a manner, that they are almoſt conſtantly obliged to wear ſhades made of very thin wood, through which ſmall apertures for the light have been bored with fiſh-bones. Doomed to a ſix-months night, they never ſee the ſun but obliquely, and then it ſeems rather to blind them than to give them light. Sight, the moſt delightful bleſſing of nature, is a fatal gift to them, and they are generally deprived of it when young.

A ſtill more cruel evil, which is the ſcurvy, conſumes them by ſlow degrees. It inſinuates itſelf into their blood, changes, thickens and impoveriſhes the whole maſs. The fogs of the ſea, which they inſpire, the denſe and inelaſtic air they breathe in their huts, which are ſhut up from all communication with the external air, the continued and tedious inactivity of their winters, a mode of life alternately roving and ſedentary, every thing in ſhort, ſerves to increaſe this dreadful illneſs; which in a little time becomes contagious, and ſpreading itſelf throughout their habitations, is but too probably tranſmitted by the means of generation.

Not-

BOOK XVII.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe inconveniences, the Eſquimaux is ſo paſſionately fond of his country, that no inhabitant of the moſt favoured ſpot under heaven quits it with more reluctance than he does his frozen deſerts. One of the reaſons of it may be that he finds it difficult to breathe in a ſofter and cooler climate. The ſky of Amſterdam, Copenhagen, and London, though conſtantly obſcured by thick and fetid vapours, is too clear for an Eſquimaux. Perhaps too, there may be ſomething in the change of life and manners ſtill more contrary to the health of ſavages than the climate. It is not impoſſible but that the indulgences of an European may be a poiſon to the Eſquimaux.

SUCH were the inhabitants of the country diſcovered in 1610 by Henry Hudſon. This intrepid mariner in ſearching after a north-weſt paſſage to the ſouth-ſeas, diſcovered three ſtreights, through which he hoped to find out a new way to Aſia by America. He ſailed boldly into the midſt of the new gulph, and was preparing to explore all its parts, when his treacherous ſhip's company put him into the long-boat, with ſeven others, and left him without either arms or proviſions expoſed to all the dangers both of ſea and land. The barbarians who refuſed him the neceſſaries of life could not, however, rob him of the honour of the diſcovery; and the bay which he firſt found out will ever be called by his name.

THE miſeries of the civil war which followed ſoon after, had, however, made the Engliſh forget this diſtant country, which had nothing to attract them. More quiet times had not yet brought it to their remembrance, when Groſeillers and Radiſſon, two French Canadians, who had met with ſome diſcontent at home, informed the Engliſh who were engaged in repairing the miſchiefs of diſcord, by trade, of the profits ariſing from furs, and

of

of their claim to the country that furniſhed them. Thoſe who propoſed the buſineſs ſhewed ſo much ability, that they were intruſted with the execution, and the firſt eſtabliſhment they formed ſucceeded ſo well that it ſurpaſſed their own hopes as well as their promiſes.

THIS ſucceſs alarmed the French, who were afraid, and with reaſon, that moſt of the fine furs which they got from the northern parts of Canada, would be carried to Hudſon's bay. Their alarms were confirmed by the unanimous teſtimony of their Coureurs de Bois, who ſince 1656, had been four times as far as the borders of the ſtreight. It would have been a deſireable thing to have gone by the ſame road to attack the new colony; but the diſtance being thought too conſiderable, notwithſtanding the convenience of the rivers, it was at length determined that the expedition ſhould be made by ſea. The fate of it was truſted to Groſeillers and Radiſſon, who had been eaſily brought back to a regard for their country.

THESE two bold and reſtleſs men ſailed from Quebec in 1682, upon two veſſels badly fitted out, but on their arrival, finding themſelves not ſtrong enough to attack the enemy, they were contented with erecting a fort in the neighbourhood of that they thought to have taken. From this time there began a rivalſhip between the two companies, one ſettled at Canada, the other in England, for the excluſive trade of the bay, which was conſtantly fed by the diſputes it gave birth to, till at laſt, after each of their ſettlements had been frequently taken by the other, all hoſtilities were terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, which gave up the whole to Great-Britain.

HUDSON's bay, properly ſpeaking, is only a mart for trade. The ſeverity of the climate having deſtroyed all the corn ſown there at different times, has fruſtrated every

BOOK XVII.

every hope of agriculture, and conſequently of population. Throughout the whole of this extenſive coaſt, there are not more than ninety or a hundred ſoldiers, or factors, comprized in four bad forts, of which York fort is the principal. Their buſineſs is to receive the furs which the neighbouring ſavages bring in exchange for merchandiſe, of which they have been taught the value and uſe.

THOUGH theſe ſkins are of much more value than thoſe which come out of countries not ſo far north, yet they are cheaper. The ſavages give ten beaver ſkins for a gun, two for a pound of powder, one for four pounds of lead, one for a hatchet, one for ſix knives, two for a pound of glaſs beads, ſix for a cloth coat, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of ſnuff. Combs, looking-glaſſes, kettles and brandy ſell in proportion. As the beaver is the common meaſure of exchange, by another regulation as fraudulent as the firſt, two otter's ſkins and three martins are required inſtead of one beaver. Beſides this tyranny, which is authoriſed, there is another which is at leaſt tolerated, by which the ſavages are conſtantly defrauded in the quality, quantity, and meaſure of what is given them; and the fraud amounts to about one third of the value.

FROM this regulated ſyſtem of impoſition it is eaſy to gueſs that the commerce of Hudſon's bay is a monopoly. The capital of the company that is in poſſeſſion of it was originally no more than 241,500 livres, (*w*) and has been ſucceſſively increaſed to 2,380,500 livres (*x*) This capital brings them in an annual return of forty or fifty thouſand ſkins of beavers or other animals, upon which they make ſo exorbitant a profit, that it excites the jealouſy and clamours of the nation. Two thirds of theſe beautiful

(*w*) 10,565*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* (*x*) 104,146*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

beautiful furs are either consumed in kind in the three kingdoms, or made use of in the national manufactures. The rest are carried into Germany, where the climate makes them a valuable commodity.

Whether there is a passage at Hudson's bay leading to the East Indies?

But it is neither the acquisition of these savage riches, nor the still greater emoluments that might be drawn from this trade, if it were made free, which have fixed the attention of England as well as that of all Europe upon this frozen continent. Hudson's bay always has been and is still looked upon as the nearest road from Europe to the East-Indies, and to the richest parts of Asia.

Cabot was the first who entertained an idea of a north-west passage to the South-seas; but his discoveries ended at Newfoundland. After him followed a crowd of English navigators, many of whom had the glory of giving their names to savage coasts which no mortal had ever visited before. These bold and memorable expeditions were more brilliant than really useful. The most fortunate of them did not ever furnish a fresh conjecture on the end that was proposed. The Dutch, less frequent in their trials, less animated in the means by which they pursued them, were of course not more successful, and the whole began to be treated as a chimæra, when the discovery of Hudson's bay rekindled all the hopes that were nearly extinguished.

At this period the attempts were renewed with fresh ardour. Those that had been made before in vain by the mother country, now taken up with her own intestine commotions, were pursued by New England, whose situation was favourable to the enterprize. Still, however, for some time there were more voyages undertaken than discoveries made. The nation was a long time kept in suspence by the different accounts of the adventurers.

BOOK XVII.

turers divided amongſt themſelves. While ſome maintained the poſſibility, others the probability, and others again aſſerted the certainty of the paſſage; the accounts they gave, inſtead of clearing up the point involved it in ſtill greater darkneſs. Indeed, theſe accounts are ſo full of obſcurity and confuſion, ſo many things are concealed in them, and they diſplay ſuch viſible marks of ignorance and want of veracity, that with the utmoſt deſire of deciding, it is impoſſible to build any thing like a ſolid judgment upon teſtimonies ſo ſuſpicious. At length, the famous expedition of 1746 threw ſome kind of light upon a point which had remained enveloped in darkneſs for two centuries paſt. But upon what grounds have the later navigators taken up better hopes? What are the experiments on which they found their conjectures? Let us proceed to give an account of their arguments. There are three facts in natural hiſtory, which henceforward muſt be taken for granted. The firſt is, that the tides come from the ocean, and that they extend more or leſs into the other ſeas, in proportion as their channels communicate with the great reſervoirs by larger or ſmaller openings; whence it follows, that this periodical motion is ſcarce perceptible in the Mediterranean, in the Baltic, and in other gulphs of the ſame nature. A ſecond matter of fact is, that the tides are much later and much weaker in places more remote from the ocean, than in thoſe which are nearer to it. The third fact is, that violent winds, which blow in a direction with the tides, make them riſe above their ordinary boundaries, and that thoſe which blow in a contrary direction retard the motion of the tides, at the ſame time that they diminiſh their ſwell.

FROM theſe principles, it is moſt certain that if Hudſon's bay were no more than a gulph incloſed between two

two continents, and had no communication but with the Atlantic, the tides in it would be very inconſiderable; they would be weaker in proportion as they were further removed from the ſource, and they would be much leſs ſtrong wherever they had to reſiſt oppoſite winds. But it is proved by obſervations made with the greateſt ſkill and preciſion, that the tides are very high throughout the whole of the bay. It is certain that they are higher towards the bottom than even at the very mouth of the bay, or at leaſt in the neighbourhood of it. It is proved that even this height increaſes whenever the wind blows from a corner oppoſite to the ſtreight; it is, therefore, certain, that Hudſon's bay has a communication with the ocean, beſides that which has been already found out.

THOSE who have endeavoured to explain theſe very ſtriking facts, by the ſuppoſition of a communication of Hudſon's bay with Baffin's bay, or with Davis's ſtreights, are evidently miſtaken. They would not ſcruple to allow it, if they only conſidered that the tides are much lower in Davis's ſtreights, and in Baffin's bay, than in Hudſon's.

BUT if the tides in Hudſon's bay can come neither from the Atlantic ocean, nor from any other northern ſea, in which they are conſtantly much weaker, it follows that they muſt come from ſome part in the South-ſea. And this is ſtill further apparent from another leading fact, which is, that the higheſt tides ever obſerved upon theſe coaſts are always occaſioned by the north-weſt winds, which blow directly againſt the mouth of the ſtreights.

HAVING thus determined, as much as the nature of the ſubject will permit, the exiſtence of this paſſage ſo long and ſo vainly wiſhed for, the next point is to find out in what part of the bay it is to be expected. Every

BOOK XVII.

thing inclines us to think that the attempts hitherto made, without either choice or method, ought to be directed towards Welcome bay, on the weſtern coaſt. Firſt, the bottom of the ſea is found there at the depth of about eleven fathom, which is an evident ſign that the water comes from ſome ocean, as ſuch a tranſparency is incompatible either with the waters diſcharged from rivers, or with melted ſnow or rain. Secondly, the currents keep this place always free from ice, whilſt all the reſt of the bay is covered with it; and their violence cannot be accounted for but by ſuppoſing them to come from ſome weſtern ſea. Laſtly, the whales who towards the latter ſeaſon always go in ſearch of the warmeſt climates, are found in great abundance in theſe parts towards the end of the ſummer, which would ſeem to indicate that they have a way of going from thence to the ſouth ſeas, not to the northern ocean.

It is probable, that the paſſage is very ſhort. All the rivers that empty themſelves into the weſtern coaſt of Hudſon's bay are ſmall and ſlow, which ſeems to prove that they do not come from afar; and that conſequently the lands which part the two ſeas are of a ſmall extent. This argument is ſtrengthened by the height and regularity of the tides. Wherever there is no other difference between the times of the ebb and flow, but that which is occaſioned by the retarded progreſſion of the moon in her return to the meridian, it is a certain ſign that the ocean from whence thoſe tides come is very near. If the paſſage is ſhort, and not very far to the north, as every thing ſeems to promiſe, we may alſo preſume that it is not very difficult. The rapidity of the currents obſervable in theſe latitudes, which do not allow any cakes of ice to continue in them, cannot but give ſome weight to this conjecture.

THE diſcoveries that ſtill remain to be made are of ſo much importance, that it would be folly to give them up. If the paſſage ſo long ſought for were once found, communications would be opened between parts of the globe which hitherto ſeem to have been ſeparated by nature from each other. They would ſoon be extended to the continent of the ſouth ſeas, and to all the numerous iſlands ſcattered upon that immenſe ocean. The intercourſe which has ſubſiſted nearly for three centuries between the commercial nations of Europe, and the moſt remote parts of India, being happily freed from the inconveniences of a long navigation, would be much briſker, more conſtant, and more advantageous. It is not to be doubted that the Engliſh would be deſirous of ſecuring an excluſive enjoyment of the fruits of their activity and expences. This wiſh would certainly be very natural, and would be very powerfully ſupported. But as the advantages obtained would be of ſuch a nature, that it would be impoſſible always to preſerve the ſole poſſeſſion of it, we may venture to foretell that all nations muſt in time become partakers of it with them. Whenever this happens, both the ſtreights of Magellan and Cape Horn will be entirely deſerted, and the Cape of Good Hope much leſs frequented. Whatever the conſequences of the diſcovery may be, it is equally for the intereſt and dignity of Great-Britain to purſue her attempts till they are either crowned with ſucceſs, or the impoſſibility of ſucceeding is fully demonſtrated. The reſolution ſhe has already taken in 1745 of promiſing a conſiderable reward to the ſeamen who ſhall make this important diſcovery, though it be an equal proof of the wiſdom and generoſity of her councils, is not alone ſufficient to attain the end ſuppoſed. The Engliſh miniſtry cannot be ignorant that all the efforts made either by go-

BOOK XVII.

vernment, or individuals, will prove abortive, till ſuch time as the trade to Hudſon's bay ſhall be entirely free. The company in whoſe hands it has been ever ſince 1670, not content with neglecting the chief object of its inſtitution, by taking no ſteps itſelf for the diſcovery of the North-weſt paſſage, has thrown every impediment in the way of thoſe who from love of fame, or other motives, have been prompted to this great undertaking. Nothing can ever alter this iniquitous ſpirit, for it is the very ſpirit of monopoly.

Deſcription of Newfoundland.

HAPPILY the excluſive privilege which prevails at Hudſon's bay, and ſeems to exclude all nations from the means of acquiring knowledge and riches, does not extend its oppreſſion to Newfoundland. This iſland, ſituated between 46 and 52 degrees of north latitude, is ſeparated from the coaſt of Labrador only by a canal of moderate breadth, known by the name of Belleiſle ſtreights. It is of a triangular form, and a little more than three hundred leagues in circumference. We can only ſpeak by conjecture of the inland parts of it from the difficulty of penetrating far into it, and the apparent inutility of ſucceeding in the attempt. The little that is known of this ſtreight, is that it is full of very ſteep rocks, mountains covered with bad wood, and ſome very narrow and ſandy valleys. Theſe inacceſſible places are ſtocked with deer, which multiply with the greater eaſe, from the ſecurity of their ſituation. No ſavages have ever been ſeen there except ſome Eſquimaux, who come over from the continent in the hunting ſeaſon. The coaſt abounds with creeks, roads and harbours; is ſometimes covered with moſs, but more commonly with ſmall pebbles, which ſeem as if they had been placed there with deſign, for the purpoſe of drying the fiſh caught in the neighbourhood. In all the open places, where the flat ſtones reflect the ſun's

ſun's rays, the heat is exceſſive. The reſt of the country is intenſely cold; leſs ſo however from its ſituation, than from the heights, the foreſts, the winds, and above all the vaſt mountains of ice which come out of the northern ſeas, and are ſtopped on theſe coaſts. The ſky towards the north and weſtern parts is conſtantly ſerene, it is much leſs ſo towards the eaſt and ſouth, both of them being too near the great bank, which is enveloped in a perpetual fog.

THIS iſland was originally diſcovered in 1497, by the Venetian Cabot, at that time in the ſervice of England, who made no ſettlement there. It was preſumed from the ſeveral voyages made after this, with a view of examining what advantages might be derived from it, that it was fit for nothing but the cod fiſhery, which is very common in that ſea. Accordingly the Engliſh uſed to ſend out at firſt ſmall veſſels in the ſpring, which returned again in Autumn, with their freight of fiſh, both ſalt and freſh. The conſumption of this article became almoſt univerſal, and there was a great demand for it, particularly among the Roman catholics. The Engliſh availed themſelves of this ſuperſtition, to enrich themſelves at the expence of the clergy, who had formerly drawn their wealth from England, and thought of forming ſettlements there. The firſt that were eſtabliſhed at great intervals from one another, were unſucceſsful, and were all forſaken ſoon after they were founded. The firſt that acquired any conſiſtence was in 1608, the ſucceſs of which raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of emulation, that within forty years, all the ſpace between Conception bay, and cape Ras, was peopled by a colony amounting to above four thouſand ſouls. Thoſe who were employed in the fiſhery, being forced both from the nature of their occupations, and that of the ſoil to live at a diſtance from

BOOK XVII.

each other, cut paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St. John's, where in an excellent harbour, protected by two mountains at a very ſmall diſtance from each other, and large enough to contain above two hundred ſhips, they uſed to meet with privateers from the mother country, who carried off the produce of their fiſhery, and gave them other neceſſaries in exchange for it.

THE French did not wait for this proſperity of the Engliſh trade, to turn their thoughts to Newfoundland. They had for a long time frequented the ſouthern parts of the iſland, where the Malouins in particular came every year to a place they had called the Petit Nord. After this ſome of them fixt without order upon the coaſt from cape Ray to Chapeau Rouge, and at length they became numerous enough to form ſomething like a town in the bay of Placentia, where they had every convenience that could make their fiſhery ſucceſsful.

BEFORE the bay is a road of about a league and a half in breadth, not however ſufficiently ſheltered from the N. N. W. winds, which blow there with extreme violence. The ſtreight which forms the entrance of the bay is ſo confined by rocks, that only one veſſel can enter at a time, and even that muſt be towed in. The bay itſelf is about eighteen leagues long, and at the extremity of it there is an exceeding ſafe harbour which holds 150 ſhips. Notwithſtanding the advantage of ſuch a poſition for ſecuring to France the whole fiſhery of the ſouthern coaſt of Newfoundland, yet the miniſtry of Verſailles paid very little attention to it. It was not till 1687 that a ſmall fort was built at the mouth of the ſtreight, in which a garriſon was placed of about fifty men.

TILL this period, the inhabitants whom neceſſity had fixed upon this barren and ſavage coaſt, had been happily forgotten;

forgotten; but from that time began a ſyſtem of oppreſſion which continued increaſing every day from the rapaciouſneſs of the ſucceſſive governors. This tyranny, by which the coloniſts were prevented from acquiring that degree of competency that was neceſſary to enable them to purſue their labours with ſucceſs, muſt alſo hinder them from increaſing their numbers. The French fiſhery, therefore, could never proſper as that of the Engliſh. Notwithſtanding this, Great Britain did not forget at the treaty of Utrecht, the inroads that had ſo often been made upon their territories by their enterprizing neighbours, who, ſupported by the Canadians accuſtomed to expeditions and to the fatigues of the chace, trained up in the art of buſh-fighting and exerciſed in ſudden attacks, had ſeveral times carried devaſtation into her ſettlements. This was ſufficient to induce her to demand the entire poſſeſſion of the iſland, and the misfortunes of the times obliged the French to ſubmit to this ſacrifice; not however without reſerving to themſelves not only the right of fiſhing on one part of the iſland, but alſo on the Great Bank, which was conſidered as belonging to it.

Fiſheries eſtabliſhed at Newfoundland.

THE fiſh which makes theſe latitudes ſo famous, is the cod. They are never above three feet long, and often leſs, but there are none in the whole ocean whoſe mouth is ſo large in proportion to their ſize, or who are ſo voracious. Broken pieces of earthen ware, iron and glaſs are often found in their bellies. The ſtomach, indeed, does not digeſt theſe hard ſubſtances, as it hath long been thought, but it hath the power of inverting itſelf, like a pocket, and thus diſcharges whatever loads it.

THE cod fiſh is found in the northern ſeas of Europe. The fiſhery is carried on by thirty Engliſh, ſixty French, and 150 Dutch veſſels, one with another from 80 to 100 tons burden. Their competitors are the Iriſh, and eſpecially

BOOK XVII.

pecially the Norwegians. The latter are employed before the fiſhing ſeaſon, in collecting upon the coaſt the eggs of the cod, which is a bait neceſſary to catch pilchards. They ſell, *communibus annis*, from twenty to twenty-two thouſand tons of this fiſh, at nine livres(x) per ton. If it could be diſpoſed of, a great deal more would be caught; for an able naturaliſt, who has had the patience to count the eggs of one ſingle cod, has found 9,344,000 of them. This profuſion of nature muſt ſtill be increaſed at Newfoundland, where the cod fiſh is found in infinitely greater plenty.

THE fiſh of Newfoundland is alſo more delicate, though not ſo white; but it is not an object of trade when freſh, and only ſerves for the food of thoſe who are employed on the fiſhery. When it is ſalted and dryed, or only ſalted, it becomes a uſeful article to a great part of Europe and America. That which is only ſalted is called green cod, and is caught upon the great bank.

THIS ſlip of land is one of thoſe mountains formed under water by the earth, which the ſea is continually waſhing away from the continent. Both its extremities terminate ſo much in a point, that it is difficult to aſſign the preciſe extent of it, but it is generally reckoned to be 160 leagues long and 90 broad. Towards the middle of it on the European ſide is a kind of bay, which has been called the ditch. Throughout all this ſpace, the depth of water is very different; in ſome places there are only five, in others above ſixty fathom. The ſun ſcarce ever ſhews itſelf there, and the ſky is generally covered with a thick cold fog. The waves are always agitated, and the winds always impetuous around it, which muſt be owing to the ſea being irregularly driven forward by currents, which bear ſometimes on one ſide, ſometimes

(x) 7*s.* 10*d.* halfpenny.

times on the other, and ſtrike againſt the borders which are every where perpendicular, and repel them with equal violence. This is moſt likely to be the true cauſe, becauſe on the bank itſelf, at ſome diſtance from the coaſt, it is as quiet as in a bay, except when there happens to be a forced wind which comes from a greater diſtance.

From the middle of July to the latter end of Auguſt there is no cod found either upon the great bank or any of the ſmall ones near it; but all the reſt of the year the fiſhery is carried on. The ſhips employed in it are commonly from 50 to 150 tons, and carry not leſs than twelve or more than twenty-five men aboard. Theſe fiſhermen are provided with lines, and before they ſet to work, catch a fiſh called the caplin, which is a bait for the cod.

Previous to their entering upon the fiſhery, they build a gallery on the outſide of the ſhip, which reaches from the main maſt to the ſtern, and ſometimes the whole length of it. This gallery is furniſhed with barrels, of which the top is beaten out. The fiſhermen place themſelves within theſe, and are ſheltered from the weather by a pitched covering faſtened to the barrels. As ſoon as they catch a cod, they cut out its tongue, and give it to one of the boys to carry to a perſon appointed for the purpoſe, who immediately ſtrikes off the head, plucks out the liver and entrails, and then lets it fall through a ſmall hatchway between the decks; when another man takes it, and draws out the bone as far as the navel, and then lets it ſink through another hatchway into the hold; where it is ſalted and ranged in piles. The perſon who ſalts it, is attentive to leave ſalt enough between the rows of fiſh which form the piles, to prevent their touching each other, and yet not to leave too much, as either exceſs would ſpoil the cod.

In

BOOK XVII.

In the right of nature, the fiſhing upon the great bank ought to have been common to all mankind; notwithſtanding which the two powers who have colonies in North America, have made very little difficulty of appropriating it to themſelves; and Spain, who alone could have any claim to it, and who from the number of her monks might have pleaded the neceſſity of aſſerting it, entirely gave up the matter at the laſt peace; ſince which time the Engliſh and French are the only nations who frequent theſe latitudes.

In 1768, France ſent out 145 ſhips, the expence of which is valued at 2,547,000 livres.(z) Theſe veſſels which carried in all 8,830 tons, were manned by 1700 men, who upon an average, and according to calculations aſcertained by being often repeated, muſt have caught each 700 fiſh; ſo that the whole of the fiſhery muſt have produced 1,190,000.

Theſe cod are divided into three ſeparate claſſes, the firſt conſiſts of thoſe which are twenty-four inches in length or upwards, the ſecond comprehends thoſe which meaſure from nineteen to twenty-four, and the third takes in all that are under nineteen inches. If the fiſhery has yielded as it commonly does two fifths of good fiſh, two fifths of moderate fiſh, and one fifth of bad, and if the fiſh has been ſold at the common price, which is 150 livres(a) the hundred weight, the produce of the whole fiſhery will amount to 1,050,000 livres.(b) The hundred weight is compoſed of 136 cod of the firſt quality, and of 272 of the ſecond; which two ſorts taken together ſell for 180 livres(c) the hundred. Only 136 cod are required to make up the hundred weight of the third claſs, but this hundred weight ſells only for one third of the

(z) 111,431*l.* 5*s.* (a) 6*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* (b) 45,937*l.* 10*s.*
(c) 7*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

the other, and is worth only 60 livres,(d) when the firſt is worth 180.(e) Conſequently the 1,190,000 cod really caught and reduced in this manner, make only 700,000 cod, which at 150 livres(f) the hundred weight, which is the mean price of the three ſorts of fiſh, will produce only 1,050,000 livres.(g) Out of this the crew muſt receive for their ſhare, which is one fifth, 210,000 livres;(h) conſequently there remains only 840,000 livres(i) profit for the undertakers. This is not ſufficient, as will be eaſily made evident. Firſt we muſt deduct the expences of unloading, which, for the 145 ſhips, cannot be reckoned at leſs than 8,700 livres (k) The inſurance of 2,547,000 livres, (l) at five per cent. muſt amount to 127,350 livres (m) As much alſo muſt be deducted for the intereſt of the money. The value of the ſhips muſt be eſtimated at two thirds of the capital advanced, and will therefore be 1,698,000 livres.(n) If we allow no more than five per cent. for the annual repair of the ſhips, we ſhall ſtill be obliged to ſubſtract 84,900 livres(o) from the profits. All theſe ſums added together make a loſs of 357,300 livres,(p) which being aſſeſſed upon a capital of 2,547,000 livres,(q) amounts to a loſs of 14 livres and 6 deniers(r) per cent.

THOSE who think this loſs may be compenſated by the oil extracted from the cod's liver, and by the tongues and bowels which are likewiſe ſalted and ſold, will find themſelves much miſtaken, as theſe trifling articles are ſcarce ſufficient to pay the ſalaries of the captains, and the duties laid upon the commiſſions of ſale.

THE French miniſtry muſt, therefore, either abſolutely give up the fiſhery of the green cod, which is conſumed in

(d) 2l. 12s. 6d.
(e) 7l. 17s. 6d.
(f) 6l. 11s. 3d.
(g) 45,937l. 10s
(h) 9,187l. 10s.
(i) 36,750l.
(k) 380l. 12s. 6d.
(l) 111,431l 5s.
(m) 5,571l. 11s. 3d.
(n) 74,287l. 10s.
(o) 3,714l. 7s. 6d.
(p) 15,631l. 17s. 6d.
(q) 111,431l. 5s.
(r) 12s. 3d. farthing.

BOOK XVII.

in the capital, and in the nothern provinces of France, or muſt take off the enormous duties which are at preſent impoſed upon this kind of conſumption. If they delay much longer to ſacrifice this inſignificant portion of the public revenue to ſo valuable a branch of trade, they will ſoon have the mortification to ſee the revenue diſappear together with the trade that produced it. The habit of trading, the hopes of amendment, the averſion the traders have for ſelling their ſhips and ſtock under prime coſt; theſe are the only motives that induce them ſtill to continue the cod fiſhery; motives which muſt certainly have an end, and if we may judge from the general appearance of diſſatisfaction, that end is not very far off.

The Engliſh, the produce of whoſe fiſhery is ſubject to no tax, have not the ſame reaſons for giving it up. They have alſo another advantage which is, that not coming from Europe, as their competitors do, but only from Newfoundland or other places almoſt as near, they can make uſe of very ſmall veſſels, which are eaſily managed, are not much raiſed above the water, and where ſails may be brought level with the deck, ſo that being very little expoſed even to the moſt violent winds, their work is ſeldom interrupted by the roughneſs of the weather. Beſides, they do not, as other ſeamen, loſe their time in procuring baits, which they bring along with them. In a word, their ſailors are more inured to the fatigues, more accuſtomed to the cold, and more ready at the buſineſs.

The Engliſh, however, attend very little to the fiſhery of the green cod; becauſe they have no mart for diſpoſing of it. In this branch they do not ſell half ſo much as their rivals. As their cod is prepared with very little care, they ſeldom make up a complete cargo of it. For fear of its ſpoiling, they commonly quit the Great Bank, with

with two thirds and very often with not more than half their lading, which they ſell to the Spaniſh and Portugueſe, and amongſt their own countrymen. But they make themſelves amends for this trifling exportation of the green cod, by the great ſuperiority they have acquired in all markets for the dry cod.

THIS branch of trade is carried on in two different ways. That which is called the Wandering Fiſhery, belongs to veſſels which ſail every year from Europe to Newfoundland, at the end of March, or in April. As they come near the iſland, they frequently meet with a quantity of ice, which the northern currents puſh towards the ſouth, which is broken to pieces by repeated ſhocks, and melts ſooner or later at the return of the heats. Theſe cakes of ice are frequently a league in circumference; they are as high as the loftieſt mountains, and reach to above ſixty or eighty fathom under water. When they are joined to leſſer pieces, they ſometimes occupy a ſpace of a hundred leagues in length, and twenty-five or thirty in breadth. Intereſt, which obliges the mariners to come to their landings as ſoon as poſſible, that they may chuſe the harbours moſt favourable to the fiſhery, makes them brave the rigour of the ſeaſons and of the elements, which all conſpire againſt human induſtry. Neither the moſt formidable rampart erected by military art, nor the dreadful cannonade of a beſieged town, nor the terrors of the moſt ſkilful and obſtinate ſea-fight require ſo much intrepidity and experience to encounter, as do theſe enormous floating bulwarks which the ſea oppoſes to theſe ſmall fleets of fiſhermen. But the moſt inſatiable of all paſſions, the thirſt of gold, ſurmounts every obſtacle, and carries the mariner acroſs theſe mountains of ice to the ſpot where the ſhips are to take in their lading.

THE

BOOK XVII.

THE firſt thing to be done after landing is to cut wood and erect ſcaffolds. Theſe labours employ every body. When they are finiſhed, the company divide; one half of the crew ſtays aſhore to cure the fiſh, and the other goes on board in ſmall boats, with three men in thoſe which are intended for the fiſhery of the Caplin, and four for the cod. Theſe laſt, which are the moſt numerous, ſail before it is light, generally at the diſtance of three, four or five leagues from the coaſt, and return in the evening to the ſcaffolds near the ſea-ſide, where they depoſit the produce of the day.

WHEN one man has taken off the cod's head and emptied the body, he gives it to another, who ſlices it and puts it in ſalt, where it remains eight or ten days. After it has been well waſhed, it is laid on gravel, where it is left till it is quite dry. It is then heaped up in piles, and left for ſome days to exſude. It is then again laid on the ſtrand, where it continues drying, and takes the colour we ſee it have in Europe.

THERE are no fatigues whatever to be compared with the labours of this fiſhery, which hardly leave thoſe who work at it four hours reſt in the night. Happily, the ſalubrity of the climate keeps up the health of the people againſt ſuch ſevere trials; and theſe labours would be thought nothing of, if they were rewarded by the produce.

BUT there are ſome harbours where the ſtrand is at ſo great a diſtance from the ſea, that a great deal of time is loſt in getting to them; and others, in which the bottom is of ſolid rock, and without Varec, ſo that the fiſh do not frequent them. There are others again, where the fiſh grow yellow from a mixture of freſh water with the ſalt; and ſome, in which it is burned up by the reverberation of the ſun's rays reflected from the mountains.

Even

Even in the moſt favourable harbours, the people are not always ſure of a ſucceſsful fiſhery. The fiſh cannot abound equally in all parts, it is ſometimes found to the north, ſometimes to the ſouth, and at other times in the middle of the coaſt, according as it is driven by the winds or attracted by the Caplin. The fiſhermen, who happen to fix at a diſtance from the places which the fiſh may chuſe to frequent, are very unfortunate, for their expences are all thrown away by the impoſſibility of following the fiſh with all that is requiſite for the fiſhery.

The fiſhery ends about the beginning of September, becauſe at that time the ſun is no longer powerful enough to dry the fiſh; but when it has been ſucceſsful, the managers give over before that time, and make the beſt of their way either to the Caribbees, or to the roman catholic ſtates in Europe, that they may not be deprived of the advantages of the firſt market, which might be loſt by an over ſtock.

In 1768, France ſent out on this trade 114 veſſels carrying in all 15,590 tons; the prime coſt of which, together with the firſt expences of ſetting out, had amounted to 5,661,000 livres.(*s*) The united crews, half of which were employed in taking the fiſh, and the other half in curing it, conſiſted of 8,022 men. Every fiſherman muſt have taken for his ſhare 6000 cod, and conſequently, the produce of the whole muſt have been 24,066,000 cod. Experience ſhews that there are 125 cod to each quintal. Conſequently 24,066,000 muſt have made 162,528 quintals. Each quintal upon an average, ſold at 16 livres, 9 ſols, and ſix deniers,(*t*) which makes for the whole ſale 3,174,305 livres 8 ſols.(*u*) As every hundred quintal of cod yields one barrel of oil,

(*s*) 247,668*l.* 15*s.* (*t*) About 14*s.* 5*d.*
(*u*) 138,875*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* ¾.

BOOK XVII.

192,528 quintals muſt have yielded 1925 barrels, which at 120 livres(*w*) a barrel makes 231,000 livres.(*x*) Add to theſe, the profits of freight made by the ſhips in returning home from the poſts where they ſold their cargoes, which are eſtimated at 198,000 livres,(*y*) and the total profits of the fiſhery will not be found to have amounted to more than 3,603,305 livres, 8 ſols.(*z*)

We may ſpare our readers a detail of the expences of unloading, which are as troubleſome in their minuteneſs as in their inſignificancy. The calculations of theſe have been made with the greateſt care and attention, and the accounts confirmed by very intelligent and diſintereſted men, who from their profeſſions muſt have been the proper judges of this matter. They amount in the whole to 695,680 livres, 17 ſols, 6 deniers,(*a*) ſo that the net produce of the fiſhery amounted only to 2,907,624 livres, 10 ſols, 6 deniers.(*b*)

From theſe profits, the inſurance money muſt be deducted, which at 6 per cent. upon a capital of 5,661,000 livres,(*c*) amounts to 339,660 livres.(*d*) We muſt alſo reckon the intereſt of the money, making at 5 per cent. 283,050 livres.(*e*) Neither muſt we omit the wear of the ſhips, the prime coſt of which making half the whole capital, muſt be ſet down at 2,830,500 livres:(*f*) this wear therefore which cannot be reckoned at leſs than 6 per cent. muſt amount to 141,525 livres.(*g*) Admitting all theſe circumſtances, which, indeed, cannot be called in queſtion, it follows that the French have loſt upon this in 1768, 687,110 livres, 9 ſols, 6 deniers,(*h*) and conſequently 12 livres, 2 ſols, 9 deniers(*i*) per cent. of their capital.

Such

(*w*) 5*l.* 5*s.* (*x*) 10,106*l.* 5*s.* (*y*) 8,662*l.* 10*s.*
(*z*) 157,644*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$. (*a*) 30,436*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.*
(*b*) 127,208*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. (*c*) 247,668*l.* 15*s.*
(*d*) 14,860*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* (*e*) 12,383*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* (*f*) 123,834*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*
(*g*) 6,191*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. (*h*) 30,061*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* (*i*) 10*s.* 7*d.* $\frac{3}{5}$.

Such losses, which unfortunately have been but too often repeated, will wear the nation more and more from this ruinous branch of trade. Individuals who still carry it on, will soon give it up; and it is even probable, that in imitation of the English, they would have done so already, if like them they had been able to make themselves amends by the stationary fishery.

By stationary fishery, we are to understand that which is made by the Europeans who have settlements on those coasts of America where the cod is most plentiful. It is infinitely more profitable than the wandering fishery, because it requires much less expence, and may be continued much longer. These advantages the French enjoyed as long as they remained peaceable possessors of Acadia, Cape Breton, Canada, and part of Newfoundland. They have lost them one after another by the errors of government, and from the wreck of these riches, have only preserved a right of salting and drying their fish to the north of Newfoundland, from cape Bona Vista to Point Rich. All the fixed establishments that are left them by the peace of 1763, are reduced to the island of St. Peters, and the two islands of Miquelon, which they are not even at liberty to build fortifications upon. There are 800 inhabitants at St. Peters, not more than one hundred at great Miquelon, and only one family on the smaller. The fishery which is extremely convenient upon the two first, is entirely impracticable on the lesser island, but this last supplies them both with wood, and particularly St. Peters, which has none of its own. Nature however has made amends for this deficiency at St. Peters, by an excellent harbour, which indeed is the only one in this small Archipelago. In 1768, they took 24,390 quintals of cod, but this quantity will not much increase, because the English not only refuse the French the liberty

BOOK XVII.

of fiſhing in the narrow canal, which ſeparates theſe iſlands from the ſouthern coaſts of Newfoundland, but have even ſeized ſome of the ſloops which attempted it.

This ſeverity, which is not warranted by treaty, and only maintained by force, is rendered ſtill more odious by the extenſiveneſs of their own poſſeſſions, which reach to all the iſlands where the fiſh is to be found. Their principal ſettlement is at Newfoundland, where there are about 8000 Engliſh, who are all employed in the fiſhery. No more than nine or ten ſhips a year are ſent out from the mother country for this purpoſe; and there are ſome few more which engage in other articles of commerce, but the greater part only exchange the productions of Europe for fiſh, or carry off the fruit of the induſtry of the inhabitants.

Before 1755, the fiſheries of the two rival nations were nearly equal, from their own accounts, with this difference only, that France on account of its population and religion conſumed more at home, and ſold leſs; but ſince ſhe has loſt her poſſeſſions in North America, one year with another, the two fiſheries, that is the ſtationary and the wandering united, have not yielded more than 216,918 quintals of dry cod, which is barely ſufficient for the conſumption of its ſouthern provinces at home, and of courſe admits of no exportation to the colonies.

It may be aſſerted that the rival nation, on the contrary, has increaſed its fiſhery two thirds ſince its conqueſts, making in all 651,114 quintals, the profits of which, valuing each quintal at no more than 14 livres,(*k*) a difference owing to its being cured with leſs care than the French fiſh, will amount to 9,115,596 livres.(*l*) One fourth of this is ſufficient for the conſumption of Great-Britain and her colonies; conſequently what is ſold in Spain,

(*k*) 12*s.* 3*d.* (*l*) 398,807*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*

Spain, Portugal, and all the ſugar iſlands amounts to a ſum of 6,836,697 livres(*m*) returned to the mother country, either in ſpecie or commodities. This object of exportation would have been ſtill more conſiderable, if when the court of London made the conqueſt of Cape Breton and St. John's, they had not been ſo inhuman as to drive out the French whom they found ſettled there; who have never yet been replaced, and, probably, never will be. The ſame bad policy has alſo been followed in Nova Scotia.

The French give up Nova Scotia to England, after having been a long time in poſſeſſion of it themſelves.

NOVA SCOTIA, by which is at preſent to be underſtood all the coaſt of 300 leagues in length, contained between the limits of New England and the ſouth coaſt of the river St. Lawrence, ſeemed at firſt to have comprehended only the great triangular peninſula, lying nearly in the middle of this ſpace. This peninſula, which the French called Acadia, is extremely well ſituated for the ſhips which come from the Caribbees to water at. It offers them a great number of excellent ports in which ſhips may enter and go out of with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon the coaſt, and ſtill more upon ſmall banks at the diſtance of a few leagues. The ſoil which is very gravelly, is extremely convenient for drying it; it abounds beſides with good wood, and land fit for ſeveral ſorts of cultivation, and extremely well ſituated for the fur trade of the neighbouring continent. Though this climate is in the temperate zone, the winters however are long and ſevere, and they are followed by ſudden and exceſſive heats, to which generally ſucceed very thick fogs, which laſt a long time. Theſe circumſtances makes this rather a diſagreeable country, though it cannot be reckoned an unwholeſome one.

(*m*) 299,105*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* halfpenny.

BOOK XVII.

It was in 1604 that the French ſettled in Acadia, four years before they had built the ſmalleſt hut in Canada. Inſtead of fixing towards the eaſt of the peninſula, where they would have had larger ſeas, an eaſy navigation, and plenty of cod, they choſe a ſmall bay, afterwards called the French bay, which had none of theſe advantages. It has been ſaid, that they were induced by the beauty of Port-Royal, where a thouſand ſhips may ride in ſafety from every wind, where there is an excellent bottom, and at all times four or five fathom of water, and eighteen at the entrance. It is moſt probable that the founders of this colony were led to chuſe this ſituation, from its vicinity to the countries abounding in furs, of which the excluſive trade had been granted to them. This conjecture is confirmed by the following circumſtance: that both the firſt monopolizers, and thoſe who ſucceeded them, took the utmoſt pains to divert the attention of their countrymen whom reſtleſſneſs or neceſſity brought into theſe regions, from the clearing of the woods, the breeding of cattle, from fiſhing and from every kind of culture; chuſing rather to engage the induſtry of theſe adventurers in hunting or in trading with the ſavages.

The miſchiefs ariſing from a falſe ſyſtem of adminiſtration, at length diſcovered the fatal effects of excluſive charters. It would be an inſult to the truth and dignity of hiſtory to ſay that this happened in France from any attention to the common rights of the nation, at a time when theſe rights were moſt openly violated. This ſacred tie, which only can ſecure the ſafety of the people, while it gives a ſanction to the power of kings, was never known in France. But in the moſt abſolute governments a ſpirit of ambition ſometimes effects what in equitable and moderate ones is done from principles of juſtice.

juſtice. The miniſters of Lewis the XIVth, who wiſhed to make their maſter reſpectable that they might reflect ſome dignity on themſelves, perceived that they ſhould not ſucceed without the ſupport of riches; and that a people to whom nature has not given any mines, cannot acquire wealth but by agriculture and commerce. Both theſe reſources had been hitherto choaked up in the colonies by the reſtraints laid upon all things from an improper interference. Theſe impediments were at laſt removed; but Acadia either knew not how, or was not able to make uſe of this liberty.

THIS colony was yet in its infancy, when the ſettlement which has ſince become ſo famous under the name of New-England, was firſt made in its neigbourhood. The rapid ſucceſs of the cultures in this new colony did not much attract the notice of the French. This kind of proſperity did not excite any jealouſy between the two nations. But when they began to ſuſpect that there was likely to be a competition for the beaver trade and furs, they endeavoured to ſecure to themſelves the ſole property of it; and they were unfortunate enough to ſucceed.

AT their firſt arrival in Acadia they had found the peninſula, as well as the foreſts of the neighbouring continent, peopled with ſmall ſavages, nations who went under the general name of Abenakies. Though equally fond of war as other ſavage nations, they were, however, more ſociable in their manners. The miſſionaries eaſily inſinuating themſelves amongſt them, had ſo far inculcated their tenets, as to make enthuſiaſts of them. At the ſame time that they taught them their religion, they inſpired them with that hatred, which they themſelves entertained for the Engliſh name. This fundamental article of their new worſhip, being that which moſt exerted its influence on their ſenſes, and the

BOOK XVII.

only one that favoured their paſſion for war; they adopted it with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refuſed to make any kind of exchange with the Engliſh, but alſo frequently attacked and plundered their ſettlements. Their attacks became more frequent, more obſtinate and more regular, ſince they had choſen St. Caſteins, formerly captain of the regiment of Carignan, for their commander; he having ſettled among them, married one of their women, and conforming in every reſpect to their mode of life.

When the Engliſh ſaw that all efforts either to reconcile the ſavages, or to deſtroy them in their foreſts were ineffectual, they fell upon Acadia, which they looked upon with reaſon as the only cauſe of all theſe calamities. Whenever the leaſt hoſtility took place between the two mother countries, the peninſula was attacked. Having no defence from Canada, from which it was too far diſtant, and very little from Port-Royal, which was only ſurrounded by a few weak palliſadoes, it was conſtantly taken. It undoubtedly afforded ſome ſatisfaction to the New-Englanders, to ravage this colony and to retard its progreſs; but ſtill this was not ſufficient to diſpel the ſuſpicions excited by a nation almoſt more formidable by what ſhe is able to do, than by what ſhe really does. Obliged as they were, however unwillingly, to reſtore their conqueſt at each treaty of peace, they waited with impatience till Great Britain ſhould acquire ſuch a ſuperiority as would enable her to diſpenſe with this reſtitution. The end of the war on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion brought on the deciſive moment; and the court of Verſailles was for ever deprived of a poſſeſſion of which it had never known the importance.

The ardour which the Engliſh had ſhewn for the poſſeſſion of this territory did not manifeſt itſelf afterwards in

in the care they took to maintain or to improve it. Having built a very ſlight fortification at Port-Royal, which had taken the name of Annapolis, in honour of queen Anne, they contented themſelves with putting a very ſmall garriſon in it. The indifference ſhewn by the government infected the nation, a circumſtance not uſual in a free country. Not more than five Engliſh families came over to Acadia, which ſtill remained inhabited by the firſt coloniſts; who were only perſuaded to ſtay upon a promiſe made them of never being compelled to bear arms againſt their ancient country. Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country. Cheriſhed by the government, reſpected by foreign nations, and attached to their king by a ſeries of proſperities which had rendered them illuſtrious and aggrandized them, they were inſpired with that ſpirit of patriotiſm which ariſes from ſucceſs. They conſidered it as glorious to bear the name of Frenchmen, and could not think of foregoing the title. The Acadians, therefore, who, in ſubmitting to a new yoke, had ſworn never to bear arms againſt their former ſtandards, were called the French neutrals.

THERE were twelve or thirteen hundred of them ſettled in the capital, the reſt were diſperſed in the neighbouring country. No magiſtrate was ever ſet over them; and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new ſovereign ſeemed to have forgotten them; and he himſelf was a total ſtranger to them.

Manners of the French who remained ſubject to the Engliſh government in Nova Scotia.

HUNTING and fiſhing, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might ſtill have ſupplied it with ſubſiſtence, had no further attraction for a ſimple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been eſtabliſhed in the marſhes and the low lands, by re-

BOOK XVII.

repelling the ſea and rivers which covered theſe plains, with dikes. Theſe grounds yielded fifty for one at firſt, and afterwards fifteen or twenty for one at leaſt. Wheat and oats ſucceeded beſt in them, but they likewiſe produced rye, barley, and maize. There were alſo potatoes in great plenty, the uſe of which was become common.

At the ſame time the immenſe meadows were covered with numerous flocks. They computed as much as ſixty thouſand head of horned cattle; and moſt families had ſeveral horſes, though the tillage was carried on by oxen. The habitations, built all of wood, were extremely convenient, and furniſhed as neatly as a ſubſtantial farmer's houſe in Europe. They bred a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food for the moſt part wholeſome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cyder, to which they ſometimes added rum. Their uſual cloathing was in general the produce of their own flax, or the fleeces of their own ſheep. With theſe they made common linens and coarſe cloths. If any of them had a deſire for articles of greater luxury, they drew them from Annapolis or Louiſbourg, and gave in exchange, corn, cattle or furs.

The neutral French had nothing elſe to give their neighbours, and made ſtill fewer exchanges among themſelves, becauſe each ſeparate family was able and had been uſed to provide for its wants. They, therefore, knew nothing of paper-currency, which was ſo common throughout the reſt of North-America. Even the ſmall quantity of ſpecie which had ſlipped into the colony did not inſpire that activity in which conſiſts its real value.

Their manners were of courſe extremely ſimple. There never was a cauſe either civil or criminal of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature eſtabliſhed at Annapolis. Whatever little differences aroſe from

from time time among them were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their paſtors, who had likewiſe the keeping of their wills, for which and their religious ſervices the inhabitants paid a twenty-ſeventh part of their harveſt.

THESE were always plentiful enough to afford more means than there were objects for generoſity. Real miſery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved as it were, before it could be felt, without oſtentation on the one hand, and without meanneſs on the other. It was in ſhort a ſociety of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all thoſe connections of gallantry which are ſo often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an inſtance in this ſociety of an unlawful commerce between the two ſexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one paſſed his youth in a ſtate of celibacy. As ſoon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a houſe, broke up the lands about it, ſowed them, and ſupplied them with all the neceſſaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had choſen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and proſpered like the others. In 1749 all together made a population of eighteen thouſand ſouls.

AT this period Great-Britain perceived of what conſequence the poſſeſſion of Acadia might be to her commerce. The peace, which neceſſarily left a great number of men without employment, furniſhed an opportunity, by the diſbanding of the troops, for peopling and cultivating a vaſt and fertile territory. The Britiſh

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BOOK XVII.

miniſtry offered particular advantages to all who would go over and ſettle in Acadia. Every ſoldier, ſailor and workman was to have fifty acres of land for himſelf, and ten for every perſon he carried over in his family. All non-commiſſioned officers were allowed eighty for themſelves, and fifty for their wives and children; enſigns 200; lieutenants 300; captains 460; and all officers of a higher rank 600; together with thirty for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax free for the firſt ten years, and never to pay above one livre, two ſols, ſix deniers (*n*) for fifty acres. Beſides this, the government engaged to advance or reimburſe the expences of paſſage, to build houſes, to furniſh all the neceſſary inſtruments for fiſhery or agriculture; and to defray the expences of ſubſiſtence for the firſt year. Theſe encouragements determined three thouſand, ſeven hundred and fifty perſons in the month of May 1749 to go to America, rather than run the riſque of ſtarving in Europe.

THE new colony was intended to form an eſtabliſhment to the ſouth-eaſt of Acadia, in a place which the ſavages had formerly called Chebucto, and the Engliſh Hallifax. This ſituation was preferred to ſeveral others where the ſoil was better, for the ſake of eſtabliſhing in its neighbourhood an excellent cod fiſhery, and fortifying one of the fineſt harbours in America. But as it was the ſpot moſt favourable for the chace, the Engliſh were obliged to diſpute it with the Micmac Indians, who moſtly frequented it. Theſe ſavages defended with obſtinacy a territory they held from nature; and it was not till after very great loſſes that the Engliſh drove them out from their poſſeſſions.

THIS war was not entirely finiſhed, when there was ſome agitation diſcovered among the neutral French. A people

(*n*) About one ſhilling.

people whoſe manners were ſo ſimple and who enjoyed ſuch liberty, could not but perceive that it was impoſſible there ſhould be any ſerious thoughts in ſettling in countries ſo near to them without their independence being affected by it. To this apprehenſion was added that of ſeeing their religion in danger. Their prieſts either heated by their own enthuſiaſm, or ſecretly inſtigated by the governors of Canada, perſuaded them to credit every thing they choſe to ſuggeſt againſt the Engliſh, whom they called heretics. This word, which has ſo powerful an influence on deluded minds, determined this happy American colony to quit their habitations and remove to New France, where they were offered lands. This reſolution many of them executed immediately, without conſidering the conſequences of it; the reſt were preparing to follow as ſoon as they had provided for their ſafety. The Engliſh government, either from policy or caprice, determined to prevent them by an act of treachery, always baſe and cruel in thoſe to whom power affords milder methods. Under a pretence of exacting a renewal of the oath which they had taken at the time of their becoming Engliſh ſubjects, they aſſembled thoſe together who were not yet gone, and when they had collected them, immediately embarked them on board of ſhips which tranſported them to the other Engliſh colonies, where the greater part of them died of grief and vexation rather than want.

Such are the fruits of national jealouſies, of that rapaciouſneſs inherent to all governments which inceſſantly preys both upon mankind and upon land. What an enemy loſes is reckoned a gain, what he gains, is looked upon as a loſs. When a town cannot be taken, it is ſtarved; when it cannot be maintained, it is burnt to aſhes, or its foundations raſed. Rather than ſurrender, a

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BOOK XVII.

ſhip or a fortification is blown up by powder and by mines. A deſpotic government ſeparates its enemies from its ſlaves by immenſe deſerts, to prevent the irruptions of the one, and the emigrations of the other.

THUS Spain choſe rather to make a wilderneſs of her own country, and a grave of America, than to divide its riches with any other of the European nations. The Dutch have been guilty of every public and private crime to deprive other commercial nations of the ſpice trade. They have oftentimes even thrown whole cargoes into the ſea, rather than they would ſell them at a low price. France rather choſe to give up Louiſiana to the Spaniards, than to let it fall into the hands of the Engliſh; and England deſtroyed the French veſſels to prevent their returning to France. Can we aſſert after this that policy and ſociety were inſtituted for the happineſs of mankind? Yes they were inſtituted to ſcreen the wicked man, and to ſecure the man in power.

Preſent ſtate of Nova Scotia.

SINCE the emigration of a people who owed their happineſs to their virtuous obſcurity, Nova Scotia has been but thinly inhabited. It ſeems as if the envy that depopulated the country had blaſted it. At leaſt the puniſhment of the injuſtice falls upon the authors of it; for there is not a ſingle inhabitant to be ſeen upon all that length of coaſt between the river St. Lawrence, and the peninſula; nor do the rocks, the ſands and marſhes with which it is at preſent covered, make it probable that it ever will be peopled. The cod, indeed, which abounds in ſome of its bays, draws every year a ſmall number of fiſhermen during the ſeaſon.

THERE are only three ſettlements in the reſt of the province. Annapolis, the moſt ancient of them, waits for freſh inhabitants to take the place of the unhappy Frenchmen

Frenchmen, who were driven from it; and it ſeems to promiſe them rich returns from the fertility of her ſoil.

LUNENBURGH, the ſecond ſettlement, was founded a few years ago by 800 Germans come from Halifax. At firſt, it did not promiſe much ſucceſs; but is conſiderably improved by the unremitted induſtry of that warlike and wiſe people, who contented with defending their own territory, ſeldom go out of it, but to cultivate others which they are not ambitious of conquering. They have fertilized all the countries under the Engliſh dominion, wherever chance had conducted them.

HALLIFAX will always continue to be the principal place of the province; an advantage it owes to the encouragements laviſhed upon it by the mother country. Their expences for this ſettlement from its firſt foundation to the year 1769, amounted to more than 90,000 livres(o) per annum. Such favours were not ill beſtowed upon a city, which from its ſituation, is the natural rendezvous of both the land and ſea forces, which Great Britain ſometimes thinks herſelf obliged to maintain in America, as well for the defence of her fiſheries, and the protection of her ſugar iſlands, as for the purpoſe of maintaining her connections with her northern colonies. Hallifax, indeed, derives more of its ſplendor from the motion and activity which is conſtantly kept up in its ports, than either from its cultivation which is trifling, or from its fiſheries which have not been conſiderably improved, though they conſiſt of cod, mackerel, and the ſeal. It is not even in the ſtate it ſhould be as a fortified town. The malverſations of perſons employed, who inſtead of the fortifications ordered and paid for by the mother country, have only erected a few batteries without any ditch round the city, make it liable to fall without reſiſtance

(o) 3,937*l.* 10*s.*

BOOK XVII.

resistance into the hands of the first enemy that attacks it. In 1757, the inhabitants of the county of Hallifax rated the value of their houses, cattle and merchandise at about 6,750,000 livres. (p) This sum, which makes about two thirds of the riches of the whole province, has not increased above one fourth since that time.

The desire of putting a stop to this state of languor was, probably, one of the motives which induced the British government to constitute a court of admiralty for all North America, and to place the seat of it at Hallifax in 1763. Before this period, the justices of peace used to be the judges of all violations of the act of navigation; but the partiality these magistrates used to shew in their judgments for the colony, where they were born, and which had chosen them, made their ministry useless, and even prejudicial to the mother country. It was presumed, that if enlightened men were sent from Europe, and well supported, they would impress more respect for their determination. The event has justified this policy. Since that regulation, the commercial laws have been better observed; but still great inconveniences have ensued from the distance of many provinces from the seat of this new tribunal. It is probable that to remedy these, administration will be forced to multiply the number of the courts, and disperse them in places convenient for the people to have access to them. Nova Scotia will then lose the temporary advantage it gains from being the resort of those who come for justice; but it will, probably, find out other natural sources of wealth within itself. It has some, indeed, that are peculiar to it. The exceeding fine flax it produces, of which the three kingdoms are so much in want, must hasten the progress of its improvement. Nova Scotia must not, however, expect ever to vie with New England.

(p) 295,312*l.* 10*s.*

BOOK XVII.

Foundation of New-England.

NEW ENGLAND, like the mother country, has signalized itself by many acts of violence; and was actuated by the same turbulent spirit. It took its rise in troublesome times, and its infant state was disturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was discovered in the beginning of the last century, and called North Virginia, but no Europeans settled there till the year 1608. The first colony, which was weak and ill directed, did not succeed, and for some time after there were only a few adventurers who came over at times in the summer, built themselves temporary huts for the sake of trading with the savages, and like them, disappeared again for the rest of the year. Fanaticism which had depopulated America to the south, was destined to repopulate it in the north. At length some English presbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had taken refuge in Holland, that universal asylum of liberty, resolved to found a church for their sect in a new hemisphere. They, therefore, purchased in 1621 the charter of the English North Virginia company: for they were not poor enough to wait in patience till their virtues should have made them prosperous. Forty-one families, making in all 120 persons, set out guided by enthusiasm, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is always productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter, and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a very melancholy prospect to men already exhausted with the fatigues of their journey. Near one half perished either from the cold, the scurvy, or distress; the rest were kept alive, for some time, by a spirit of enthusiasm, and the steadiness of character they had contracted under the persecution of episcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to fail, when it was revived by the arrival of sixty savage warriors, who came to them in the spring, headed by

BOOK XVII.

their chief. Freedom ſeemed to exult that ſhe had thus brought together from the extremities of the world two ſuch different people; who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendſhip and protection. The old tenants aſſigned for ever to the new ones all the lands in the neighbourhood of the ſettlement they had formed under the name of New Plymouth; and one of the ſavages, who underſtood a little Engliſh, ſtayed with them to teach them how to cultivate the maize, and inſtruct them in the manner of fiſhing upon their coaſt.

THIS kindneſs enabled the colony to wait for the companions they expected from Europe, with ſeeds and all ſorts of domeſtic animals. At firſt they came but ſlowly, but the perſecution of the puritans in England increaſed the number of proſelytes (as is always the caſe) to ſuch a degree in America, that in 1630, they were obliged to form different ſettlements, of which Boſton ſoon became the principal. Theſe firſt ſettlers were not merely eccleſiaſtics, who had been driven out of their preferment for their opinions, nor thoſe ſectaries influenced by new opinions, that are ſo frequent among the common people. There were among them ſeveral perſons of high rank, who having embraced puritaniſm either from motives of caprice, ambition, or even of conſcience, had taken the precaution to ſecure themſelves an aſylum in theſe diſtant regions. They had cauſed houſes to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cauſe of civil and religious liberty ſhould prove abortive. The ſame fanatical ſpirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother country, kept the colony in a ſtate of ſubordination, or rather a ſeverity of manners, had the ſame effect as laws in a ſavage climate.

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THE inhabitants of New England lived peaceably for a long time without any regular form of policy. It was not that their charter had not authorized them to eſtabliſh any mode of government they might chuſe, but theſe enthuſiaſts were not agreed amongſt themſelves upon the plan of their republic; and government was not ſufficiently concerned about them to urge them to ſecure their own tranquillity. At length they grew ſenſible of the neceſſity of a regular legiſlation, and this great work which virtue and genius united have never attempted but with diffidence, was boldly undertaken by blind fanaticiſm. It bore the ſtamp of the rude prejudices on which it had been formed.

THERE was in this new code a ſingular mixture of good and evil, of wiſdom and folly. No man was allowed to have any ſhare in the government except he was a member of the eſtabliſhed church. Witchcraft, perjury, blaſphemy, and adultery were made capital offences; and children were alſo puniſhed with death, either for curſing or ſtriking their parents. On the other hand, marriages were to be ſolemnized by the magiſtrate. The price of corn was fixed at 3 livres, 7 ſols, 6 deniers(q) per buſhel. The ſavages who neglected to cultivate their lands were to be deprived of them by law. Europeans were forbidden under a heavy penalty to ſell them any ſtrong liquors or warlike ſtores. All thoſe who were detected either in lying, or drunkenneſs, or dancing, were ordered to be publickly whipped. But at the ſame time that amuſements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes, one might ſwear by paying a penalty of 1 livre, 2 ſols, 6 deniers,(r) and break the ſabbath for 67 livres, 10 ſols.(s) It was eſteemed an indulgence to be able to

(q) 2s. 11d. halfpenny.
(r) 11d. 3 farthings.
(s) 2l. 19s. 9d. 3 farthings.

BOOK XVII.

atone by money for a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a raſh oath. But it is ſtill more extraordinary that the worſhip of images was forbidden to the puritans on pain of death, which was alſo inflicted on Roman catholic prieſts, who ſhould return to the colony after they had been baniſhed; and on Quakers who ſhould appear again after having been whipped, branded and expelled. Such was the abhorrence for theſe ſectaries, who had themſelves an averſion for every kind of cruelty, that whoever either brought one of them into the country, or harboured him but for one hour, was expoſed to pay a conſiderable fine.

Fanaticiſm occaſions great calamities in New-England.

THOSE unfortunate members of the colony, who, leſs violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the coercive power of the magiſtrate in matters of religion, were perſecuted with ſtill greater rigour. This appeared a blaſphemy to thoſe divines who had rather choſen to quit their country than to ſhew any deference to epiſcopal authority. By that natural tendency of the human heart from the love of independence to that of tyranny, they changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only ſeemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themſelves, in order to deny it to others. This ſyſtem was ſupported by the ſeverities of the law, which attempted to put a ſtop to every difference in opinion, by impoſing capital puniſhment on all who diſſented. Whoever was either convicted or even ſuſpected of entertaining ſentiments of toleration, was expoſed to ſuch cruel oppreſſions, that they were forced to fly from their firſt aſylum, and ſeek refuge in another. They found one on the ſame continent, and as New England had been firſt founded by perſecution, its limits were extended by it. This ſeverity, which a man turns againſt himſelf, or againſt his fellow creatures, and makes him either the victim, or the oppreſſor, ſoon exerted

exerted itſelf againſt the Quakers. They were whipped, BOOK XVII.
baniſhed, and impriſoned. The proud ſimplicity of theſe new enthuſiaſts, who in the midſt of tortures and ignominy praiſed God, and called for bleſſings upon men, inſpired a reverence for their perſons and opinions, and gained them a number of proſelytes. This circumſtance exaſperated their perſecutors, and hurried them on to the moſt atrocious acts of violence; and they cauſed five of them, who had returned clandeſtinely from baniſhment, to be hanged. It ſeemed as if the Engliſh had come to America to exerciſe upon their own countrymen the ſame cruelties the Spaniards had uſed againſt the Indians. This ſpirit of perſecution was at laſt ſuppreſſed by the interpoſition of the mother country, from whence it had been brought.

CROMWELL was no more; enthuſiaſm, hypocriſy, and fanaticiſm, which compoſed his character, factions, rebellions, and proſcriptions were all buried with him, and England had the proſpect of calmer days. Charles the ſecond, at his reſtoration, had introduced amongſt his ſubjects a ſocial turn, a taſte for convivial pleaſures, gallantry, and diverſions, and for all thoſe amuſements he had been engaged in while he was wandering from one court to another in Europe, to recover the crown which his father had loſt upon a ſcaffold. Nothing but ſuch a total change of manners, could poſſibly have ſecured the tranquillity of his government upon a throne marked with blood. He was one of thoſe voluptuaries, whom the love of ſenſual pleaſures ſometimes excites to ſentiments of compaſſion and humanity. Moved with the ſufferings of the Quakers, he put a ſtop to them by a proclamation in 1661; but he was never able totally to extinguiſh the ſpirit of perſecution that prevailed in America.

THE colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the ſon of that Sir Henry Vane, who had had ſuch a remark-

BOOK XVII.

able ſhare in the diſturbances of his country. This obſtinate and enthuſiaſtic young man, in every thing reſembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himſelf, or to ſuffer others to remain quiet, had contrived to revive the obſcure and obſolete queſtions of grace and free will. The diſputes upon theſe points ran very high, and would, probably, have plunged the colony into a civil war, if ſeveral of the ſavage nations united had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the diſputants, and to maſſacre great numbers of them. The coloniſts heated with their theological conteſts paid at firſt very little attention to this conſiderable loſs. But the danger at length became ſo urgent and ſo general, that all took up arms. As ſoon as the enemy was repulſed, the colony reſumed its former diſſentions; and the phrenzy which they excited, broke out in 1692 in a war, marked with as many atrocious inſtances of violence, as any ever recorded in hiſtory.

THERE lived in a town of New England, called Salem, two young women who were ſubject to convulſions, accompanied with extraordinary ſymptoms. Their father, miniſter of the church, thought that they were bewitched; and having in conſequence caſt his ſuſpicions upon an Indian girl, who lived in his houſe, he compelled her by harſh treatment to confeſs that ſhe was a witch. Other women upon hearing this, ſeduced by the pleaſure of exciting the public attention, immediately believed that the convulſions which proceeded only from the nature of their ſex, were owing to the ſame cauſe. Three citizens, pitched upon by chance, were immediately thrown into priſon, accuſed of witchcraft, hanged, and their bodies left expoſed to wild beaſts and birds of prey. A few days after, ſixteen other perſons, together with a counſellor, who becauſe he refuſed to plead againſt them,

them, was ſuppoſed to ſhare in their guilt, ſuffered in the ſame manner. From this inſtant, the imagination of the multitude was inflamed with theſe horrid and gloomy ſcenes. The innocence of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modeſty, fortune, honour, virtue, the moſt dignified employments of the ſtate, nothing was ſufficient to exempt from the ſuſpicions of a people infatuated with viſionary ſuperſtition. Children of ten years of age were put to death, young girls were ſtripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft ſearched for upon their bodies with the moſt indecent curioſity; thoſe ſpots of the ſcurvy which age impreſſes upon the bodies of old men, were taken for evident ſigns of the infernal power. Fanaticiſm, wickedneſs and vengeance united, ſelected out their victims with pleaſure. In default of witneſſes, torments were employed to extort confeſſions dictated by the executioners themſelves. If the magiſtrates, tired out with executions refuſed to puniſh, they were themſelves accuſed of the crimes they would no longer purſue; the very miniſters of religion raiſed falſe witneſſes againſt them, who made them forfeit with their lives the tardy remorſe excited in them by humanity. Dreams, apparitions, terror and conſternation of every kind increaſed theſe prodigies of folly and horror. The priſons were filled, the gibbets left ſtanding, and all the citizens involved in gloomy apprehenſions. The moſt prudent perſons quitted a country imbrued with the blood of its inhabitants; and thoſe that remained ſought for nothing but reſt in the grave. In a word, nothing leſs than the total and immediate ſubverſion of the colony was expected, when on a ſudden, in the height of the ſtorm, the waves ſubſided, and a calm enſued. All eyes were opened at once, and the exceſs of the evil awakened the minds which it had at firſt ſtupified. Bitter and painful remorſe was

BOOK XVII.

the immediate conſequence; the mercy of God was implored by a general faſt, and public prayers were offered up to aſk forgiveneſs for the preſumption of having ſuppoſed that heaven could have been pleaſed with ſacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

POSTERITY will, probably, never know exactly what was the cauſe or remedy of this dreadful diſorder. It had, perhaps, its firſt origin in the melancholy, which theſe perſecuted enthuſiaſts had brought with them from their own country, which had increaſed with the ſcurvy they had contracted at ſea, and which had gathered freſh ſtrength from the vapours and exhalations of a ſoil newly broken up, as well as from the inconveniences and hardſhips inſeparable from a change of climate and manner of living. The contagion, however, ceaſed like all other epidemical diſtempers, exhauſted by its very communication; as all the diſorders of the imagination are diſpelled in the tranſports of a delirium. A perfect calm ſucceeded this agitation; and the puritans of New-England have never ſince been ſeized with ſo gloomy a fit of enthuſiaſm.

Severities ſtill ſubſiſting in the laws of New-England.

BUT though the colony has renounced the perſecuting ſpirit which hath ſtained all religious ſects with blood, it has preſerved ſome remains if not of intoleration, at leaſt, of ſeverity, which reminds us of thoſe melancholy days in which it took its riſe. Some of its laws are ſtill too ſevere.

[In ſupport of this poſition the author gravely introduces the ſtory of Polly Baker, who was brought before the magiſtrates and convicted the fifth time of having had a baſtard child. He gives the ſpeech ſhe is ſaid to have made on this occaſion at full length. But as this ſpeech is in the hands of every Engliſh reader, the tranſlator has judged it unneceſſary to ſwell his tranſlation with it. The author's reaſoning upon it is as follows:]

THIS

THIS ſpeech, however, produced an affecting change in the minds of all the audience. She was not only acquitted of either penalty or corporal puniſhment, but her triumph was ſo complete, that one of her judges married her; ſo ſuperior is the voice of reaſon to all the powers of ſtudied eloquence.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the popular prejudice ſoon regained its ground, whether it be that political and ſocial good often ſilences the voice of nature, when left to herſelf, or that, under the Engliſh government, where celibacy is not enjoined by religion, there is leſs excuſe for an illicit commerce between the ſexes than in thoſe countries, where the nobility and the clergy, luxury on the one ſide, miſery on the other, and above all, the ſcandalous example given by the court and the church, all unite in degrading the married ſtate, and conſequently in preventing many perſons from entering into it.

NEW ENGLAND has ſome reſources againſt bad laws in the conſtitution of its mother country, when the people who have the legiſlative power in their own hands are at liberty to correct abuſes; and it has others derived from its ſituation, which open a vaſt field to induſtry and population.

Government, population, cultures, manufactures, trade and navigation of New-England.

THIS colony, bounded to the north by Canada, to the weſt by New-York, and to the eaſt and ſouth by Nova Scotia and the ocean, extends full three hundred miles on the borders of the ſea, and upwards of fifty miles in the inland parts.

THE clearing of the lands is not done by chance as in the other provinces. From the firſt they were ſubjected to laws which are ſtill religiouſly obſerved. No citizen whatever has the liberty of ſettling even upon unoccupied land. The government which was deſirous of preſerving all its members from the inroads of the ſavages,

and

BOOK XVII.

and that they ſhould be at hand to partake of the ſuccours of a well-regulated ſociety, hath ordered that whole villages ſhould be formed at once. As ſoon as ſixty families offer to build a church, maintain a clergyman, and pay a ſchool-maſter, the general congreſs allot them a ſituation, and permit them to have two repreſentatives in the legiſlative body of the colony. The diſtrict aſſigned them always borders upon the lands already cleared, and generally contains ſix thouſand ſquare acres. Theſe new people chuſe out the ſpot moſt convenient for their reſpective habitations, and it is uſually of a ſquare figure. The church is placed in the center; and the coloniſts dividing the land among themſelves, each incloſes his property with a hedge. Some woods are reſerved for a common. It is thus that New-England is continually aggrandizing itſelf, without diſcontinuing to make one complete and well conſtituted province.

THOUGH the colony is ſituated in the midſt of the temperate zone, yet the climate is not ſo mild as that of ſome European provinces, which are under the ſame parallel. The winters are longer and more cold; the ſummers ſhorter and more hot. The ſky is commonly clear and the rains more plentiful than laſting. The air has grown purer ſince its circulation has been made free by cutting down the woods; and malignant vapours, which at firſt carried off ſome of the inhabitants, are no longer complained of.

THE country is divided into four provinces, which in the beginning had no connection with one another. The neceſſity of maintaining an armed force againſt the ſavages obliged them to form a confederacy in 1643, at which time they took the name of the united colonies. In conſequence of this league, two deputies from each eſtabliſhment uſed to meet in a ſtated place to deliberate upon

upon the common affairs of New-England, according to the inſtructions they had received from the aſſembly, by which they were ſent. This aſſociation controuled in no one point the right which every individual had of acting intirely as he pleaſed, without either the permiſſion or approbation of the mother country. All the ſubmiſſion of theſe provinces conſiſted in a vague acknowledgment of the kings of England for their ſovereigns. BOOK XVII.

So ſlight a dependence diſpleaſed Charles the Second. The province of Maſſachuſet's bay, which, though the ſmalleſt, was the richeſt and the moſt populous of the four, being guilty of ſome miſdemeanor againſt government, the king ſeized that opportunity of taking away its charter in 1684; and it remained without one till the revolution; when it received another, which, however, did not anſwer its claims or expectations. The crown reſerved to itſelf the right of nominating the governor, and appointing to all military employments, and to all principal poſts in the civil and juridical departments: allowing the people of the colony their legiſlative power, they gave the governor a negative voice and the command of the troops, which ſecured him a ſufficient influence to enable him to maintain the prerogative of the mother country in all its force. The provinces of Connecticut and Rhode-Iſland by timely ſubmiſſion prevented the puniſhment that of Maſſachuſet had incurred, and retained their original charter. That of New-Hampſhire had been always regulated by the ſame mode of adminiſtration as the province of Maſſachuſet's bay. The ſame governor preſides over the whole colony, but with regulations adapted to the conſtitution of each province. According to the moſt exact calculations, the preſent population of New-England is computed at four hundred thouſand inhabitants, which are more numerous to the ſouth

BOOK XVII.

ſouth than to the north of the colony, where the ſoil is leſs fertile. Among ſuch a number of citizens, there are few proprietors wealthy enough to leave the care of their plantations to ſtewards or farmers: moſt of them are planters in eaſy circumſtances, who live upon their eſtates and are buſied in the labours of the field. This equality of fortune, joined to the religious principles and to the nature of the government, gives this people a more republican caſt than is to be obſerved in the other colonies.

None of our beſt fruits have degenerated in New-England; it is even ſaid, that the apple is improved, at leaſt, it has multiplied exceedingly and made cyder a more common drink than in any other part of the world. All our roots and garden-ſtuff have had the ſame ſucceſs; but the ſeeds have not thriven quite ſo well. Wheat is apt to be blighted, barley grows dry, and oats yield more ſtraw than grain. In default of theſe the maize, which is uſually conſumed in making beer, is the drink of the common people. There are large and fruitful meadows, which are covered with numerous flocks.

The arts, though carried to a greater degree of perfection in this colony than in any of the others, have not made near the ſame progreſs as agriculture. There are not more than four or five manufactures of any importance.

The firſt which was formed was that for building of ſhips. It maintained for a long time a degree of reputation. The veſſels which came out of this dock were in great eſtimation, the materials of which they were conſtructed, being found much leſs porous, and much leſs apt to ſplit than thoſe of the more ſouthern provinces. Since 1730, the numbers of them are conſiderably diminiſhed, becauſe the woods for building have been little attended to, and uſed for other purpoſes. To prevent

prevent this inconvenience, it was propoſed to forbid the cutting of any of them within ten miles of the ſea, and we know not for what reaſon this law, the neceſſity of which was ſo evident, was never put in force. The diſtilling of rum has ſucceeded better than the building of ſhips. It was begun from the facility the New Englanders had of importing large quantities of melaſſes from the Caribbees. The melaſſes were at firſt uſed in kind for various purpoſes. By degrees they learnt to diſtil them. When made into rum, they ſupplied the neighbouring ſavages with it, as the Newfoundland fiſhermen did the other northern provinces, and ſailors who frequented the coaſt of Africa. The degree of imperfection in which this art hath ſtill remained in the colony, has not diminiſhed the ſale of it; becauſe they have always been able to afford the rum at a very low price.

THE ſame reaſon has both ſupported and increaſed the manufacture of hats. Though limited by the regulations of the mother country to the internal conſumption of the colony, the merchants have found means to ſurmount theſe obſtacles, and to ſmuggle pretty large quantities of them into the neighbouring ſettlements.

THE colony ſells no cloths, but it buys very few. The fleeces of its flocks, as long, though not quite ſo fine as the Engliſh ones, make coarſe ſtuffs, which do extremely well for plain men who live in the country.

SOME Preſbyterians who were driven from the north of Ireland by the perſecutions either of the government or of the clergy, firſt taught the New Englanders to cultivate hemp and flax, and to manufacture them. The linens made of them are ſince become one of the great reſources of the colony.

THE mother country, whoſe political calculations have not always coincided with the high opinion entertained of

BOOK XVII.

of her abilities, has omitted nothing to thwart theſe ſeveral manufactures. She did not perceive that by this oppreſſive conduct of the government, thoſe of her ſubjects who were employed in clearing this conſiderable part of the new world, muſt be reduced to the alternative either of abandoning ſo good a country, or procuring from among themſelves the things of general uſe, and of immediate neceſſity. Indeed, even theſe reſources would not have been ſufficient to maintain them, if they had not had the good fortune and the addreſs to open to themſelves ſeveral other channels of ſubſiſtence, the origin and progreſs of which we muſt endeavour to trace.

THE firſt reſource they met with from without, was in the fiſhery. It has been encouraged to ſuch a degree, that a regulation has taken place, by which every family who ſhould declare that it had lived upon ſalt-fiſh for two days in the week during a whole year, ſhould be diſburdened of part of their tax. Thus commercial views enjoin abſtinence from meat to the proteſtants, in the ſame manner as religion preſcribes it to the catholics.

MACKAREL is caught only in the ſpring at the mouth of the Pentagouet, a conſiderable river which empties itſelf in Fundy bay, towards the extremity of the colony. In the very center of the coaſt, and near Boſton, the cod-fiſh is always in ſuch plenty, that cape Cod, notwithſtanding the ſterility of its ſoil, is one of the moſt populous parts of the country. Not content, however, with the fiſh caught in its own latitudes, New England ſends every year about two hundred veſſels, from thirty-five to forty tons each, to the great bank, to Newfoundland, and to Cape Breton, which commonly make three voyages a ſeaſon, and bring back at leaſt a hundred thouſand quintals of cod. Beſides, there are larger veſſels which ſail from the ſame ports, and exchange proviſions for

for the produce of the fiſhery of thoſe Engliſh who are ſettled in theſe frozen and barren regions. All this cod is afterwards diſtributed in the ſouthern parts of Europe and America. BOOK XVII.

THIS is not the only article with which the Britiſh iſlands in the new world are ſupplied by New England. It furniſhes them beſides, horſes, oxen, hogs, ſalt meat, butter, tallow, cheeſe, flour, biſcuit, Indian corn, peas, fruits, cyder, hemp, flax, and woods of all kinds. The ſame commodities paſs into the iſlands belonging to the other nations, ſometimes openly, ſometimes by ſmuggling, but always in leſſer quantities during peace, than in war time. Honduras, Surinam, and other parts of the American continent open ſimilar markets to New England. This province alſo fetches wines and brandies from the Madeiras and the Azores, and pays for them with cod-fiſh and corn.

THE ports of Italy, Spain and Portugal receive annually ſixty or ſeventy of their ſhips. They come there laden with cod, wood for ſhip building, naval ſtores, corn, and fiſh oil; many of them return with olive-oil, ſalt, wine and money immediately to New England, where they land their cargoes clandeſtinely. By this method, they elude the cuſtoms they would be obliged to pay in Great Britain, if they went there, as in purſuance of a poſitive order they ought to do. The ſhips which do not return to the original port are ſold in thoſe where they diſpoſe of their cargo. They have frequently no particular addreſs, but are freighted indifferently for every merchant and every port, till they meet with a proper purchaſer.

THE mother country receives from its colony yards and maſts for the royal navy, planks, pot-aſhes, pitch, tar, turpentine, a few furs, and in years of ſcarcity ſome corn.

BOOK XVII.

corn. Theſe cargoes come home in ſhips built by her own merchants, or bought by them of privateers, who build upon ſpeculation.

Besides the trade New England makes of her own productions, ſhe has appropriated great part of the conveying trade between North and South America, in conſequence of which the New Englanders are looked upon as the brokers or Hollanders of that part of the world.

Notwithstanding this lively and continued exertion, New England has never yet been able to free herſelf from debt. She has never been able to pay exactly for what ſhe received from the mother country, either in productions of her own, or of foreign induſtry, or in thoſe from the Eaſt-Indies; all which articles of trade amount annually to 9,000,000 of livres. (*t*)

She has ſtill, however, trade enough to keep ſix thouſand ſailors in conſtant employment. Her marine conſiſts of five hundred large veſſels, which carry altogether forty thouſand tons burden; beſides a great number of ſmaller veſſels for fiſhing and for the coaſting trade, which come out indifferently from all the open roads which are ſpread all over the coaſt. Almoſt all of them load and unload at Boſton.

Boston, the capital of New England, is ſituated in a peninſula, about four miles long, at the bottom of the fine bay of Maſſachuſet, which reaches about eight miles within land. The opening of the bay is ſheltered from the impetuoſity of the waves by a number of rocks which riſe above the water, and by a dozen of ſmall iſlands, the greater part of which are fruitful and inhabited. Theſe dikes and natural ramparts will not allow more than three ſhips to come in together. At the end of the laſt century, a regular citadel, named fort William, was erected in

(*t*) 393,750*l.*

in one of the islands upon this narrow channel. There are one hundred pieces of cannon carrying forty-two pounders each upon it, which are disposed in such a manner, that they can batter a ship fore and aft before it is possible for her to bring her guns to bear. A league further on, there is a very high light-house, the signals from which, in case of invasion, are perceived and repeated by the fortress along the whole coast, at the same time that Boston has her own light-houses, which spread the alarm to all the inland country. Except in the case of a very thick fog, which a few ships may take advantage of to get into some of the smaller islands, the town has always five or six hours to prepare for the reception of the enemy, and to get together ten thousand militia, which can be raised at four and twenty hours notice. If a fleet should ever be able to pass the artillery of fort William, it would infallibly be stopped by a couple of batteries, which being erected to the north and south of the place, command the whole bay, and would give time for all the vessels and commercial stores to be sheltered from cannon shot in the river Charles. BOOK XVII.

Boston port is large enough for six hundred vessels to anchor in it safely and commodiously. There is a magnificent pier constructed, far enough advanced in the sea for the ships to unload their goods without the assistance of a lighter, and to discharge them into the warehouses which are ranged on the north side. At the extremity of the pier, the town appears built in the form of a crescent round the harbour. According to the bills of mortality, which are become with reason the only rule of political arithmetic, it contains about thirty thousand inhabitants, composed of Anabaptists, Quakers, French refugees, English Presbyterians and church of England men. The houses, furniture, dress, food, conversation, customs and

BOOK XVII.

manners are so exactly similar to the mode of living in London, that it is impossible to find any other difference but that which arises from the overgrown population of large capitals.

New York founded by the Dutch, passes into the hands of the English.

NEW ENGLAND, which resembles the mother country in so many respects, is contiguous to New-York. The latter limited to the east by this principal colony, and bounded to the west by New-Jersey, occupies at first a very narrow space of twenty miles along the sea-shore, and insensibly enlarging, extends above a hundred and fifty miles northward in the inland country.

THIS country was discovered by Henry Hudson in 1609. That celebrated navigator, after having made vain attempts under the patronage of the Dutch East-India company for the discovery of a north-west passage, veered about to the southward, and coasted along the continent, in hopes of making some useful discovery that might prove a kind of indemnification to the society for the trust they had reposed in him. He entered into a considerable river, to which he gave his name, and after having reconnoitred the coast and its inhabitants, returned to Amsterdam from whence he had set sail.

ACCORDING to the European system, which considers the people of the new world as nothing, this country should have belonged to the Dutch. It had been discovered by a man in their service, who had taken possession of it in their name, and given up to them all the claims which he himself might have to it. His being an Englishman did not, in the least, invalidate these uncontrovertible titles. It must, therefore, have occasioned great surprize, when James the first asserted his pretensions to it, upon the principle that Hudson was born his subject; as if the real country of any man was not that in which he earns his subsistence. The king was so con-

convinced of this that he ſoon gave up the matter; and the republic ſent in 1610 to lay the foundation of the colony in a country which was to be called New Belgia. Every thing proſpered here. Fortunate beginnings ſeemed to announce a ſtill greater progreſs, when in 1664 the colony was expoſed to a ſtorm which it could not poſſibly foreſee.

ENGLAND, which had not at that time thoſe intimate connections with Holland that the ambition and ſucceſſes of Lewis the 14th have given birth to ſince, had long ſeen with a jealous eye the proſperity of a ſmall ſtate in its neighbourhood, which, though but juſt formed, was already extending its proſperous trade to all parts of the world. She was ſecretly diſturbed at the thoughts of not being on an equality with a power to whom, in the nature of things, ſhe ought to have been greatly ſuperior. Her rivals in commerce and navigation by their vigilance and oeconomy, gained the advantage over her in all the large markets of the whole univerſe. Every effort ſhe made to eſtabliſh a competition turned either to her loſs or diſcredit, and ſhe was obliged only to act a ſecondary part, whilſt all the trade then known was evidently centering itſelf in the republic. At length, the nation felt the diſgrace of her merchants, and reſolved that what they could not compaſs by induſtry, ſhould be ſecured to them by force. Charles the ſecond, notwithſtanding his averſion for buſineſs, and his immoderate love of pleaſure, eagerly adopted a meaſure which gave him a proſpect of acquiring the riches of theſe diſtant regions, together with the maritime empire of Europe. His brother, more active and more enterpriſing than himſelf, encouraged him in theſe diſpoſitions, and the deliberation concluded with their ordering the Dutch

BOOK XVII.

ſhips to be attacked without any previous declaration of war.

An Engliſh fleet appeared before New Belgia, in the month of Auguſt. It had three thouſand men on board, and ſo numerous a force precluded every idea, as well as every hope of reſiſtance; the colony ſubmitted as ſoon as it was ſummoned. The conqueſt was ſecured to the victors by the treaty of Breda; but it was again taken from them in 1673, when the intrigues of France had found means to ſet two powers at variance, who for their mutual intereſts ought always to be friends. A ſecond treaty reſtored New Belgia to the Engliſh, who have remained in quiet poſſeſſion of it ever ſince under the name of New York.

It had taken that name from the duke of York, to whom it had been given by the king in 1664. As ſoon as he had recovered it, he governed it upon the ſame arbitrary principles, which afterwards deprived him of the throne. His deputies, in whoſe hands were lodged powers of every kind, not contented with the exerciſe of the public authority, conſtituted themſelves arbitrators in all private diſputes. The country was then inhabited by Hollanders, who had preferred theſe plantations to their own country, and by coloniſts who had come from New England. Theſe people had been too long accuſtomed to liberty, to ſubmit patiently for any time to ſo arbitrary an adminiſtration. Every thing ſeemed tending either to an inſurrection or an emigration, when in 1683 the colony was invited to chuſe repreſentatives to ſettle its form of government. Time produced ſome other changes; but it was not till 1691 that a fixed plan of government was adopted, which has been followed ever ſince.

At

At the head of the colony is a governor appointed by the crown, which likewiſe appoints twelve counſellors, without whoſe concurrence the governor can ſign no act. The commons are repreſented by twenty-ſeven deputies, choſen by the inhabitants, and theſe ſeveral bodies conſtitute the general aſſembly, in which every power is lodged. The duration of this aſſembly, originally unlimited, was afterwards fixed at three years, and now continues for ſeven, like the Britiſh parliament, whoſe revolutions it has followed.

Flouriſhing ſtate of New York.

Cauſes of its proſperity.

Supported upon a form of government ſo ſolid, ſo favourable to that liberty which makes every thing proſper, the colony gave itſelf up entirely to all the labours which its ſituation could require or encourage. A climate much milder than that of New England, a ſoil ſuperior to it for the cultivation of corn, and equally fit for that of every other production, ſoon enabled it to vye ſucceſsfully with an eſtabliſhment that had got the ſtart of it in all its productions, and in all the markets. If it was not equal in its manufactures, this inferiority was amply compenſated by a fur trade infinitely more conſiderable. Theſe means of proſperity united to a very great degree of toleration in religious matters, have raiſed its population to one hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, five and twenty thouſand of which are able to bear arms, and conſtitute the national militia.

The colony would ſtill have flouriſhed much more had not its proſperity been obſtructed by the fanaticiſm of two governors, the oppreſſive conduct of ſome others, and the extravagant grants made to ſome individuals in too high favour; but theſe inconveniences, which are only temporary under the Engliſh government, have ſome of them ceaſed, and the reſt of them are leſſened. The province may, therefore, expect to ſee her productions

BOOK XVII.

doubly increaſed, if the two thirds of its territory, which ſtill remain uncleared, ſhould yield as much as the one third which has already been cultivated.

It is impoſſible to foreſee what influence theſe riches may have upon the minds of the inhabitants; but it is certain they have not yet abuſed thoſe they have hitherto acquired. The Dutch, who were the firſt founders of the colony, planted in it that ſpirit of order and oeconomy, which is the characteriſtic of their nation; and as they always made up the bulk of the people, even after theſe had changed maſters, the example of their decent manners was imitated by all the new coloniſts brought amongſt them by the conqueſt. The Germans, compelled to take refuge in America by the perſecution which drove them out of the palatinate, or from the other provinces of the empire, were naturally inclined to this ſimple and modeſt way of life; and the Engliſh and French, who were not accuſtomed to ſo much frugality, ſoon conformed, either from motives of wiſdom or emulation, to a mode of living leſs expenſive, and more familiar than that which is regulated by faſhion and parade.

What has been the conſequence? That the colony has never run in debt with the mother country; that it has by that means preſerved an entire liberty in its ſales and purchaſes; and been enabled always to give to its affairs the direction, which has been moſt advantageous to them. Had the repreſentatives carried the ſame principles into their adminiſtration, the province would not have entered precipitately into engagements, the burthen of which it already feels.

Both the banks of Hudſon's river are laid out in the plantations of the colony, which enliven and decorate theſe borders. It is upon this magnificent canal, which

is

is navigable day and night, in all ſeaſons, and where the tide runs up above a hundred and ſixty miles in the land, that every thing which is intended for the general market is embarked in veſſels of forty or fifty tons burthen. The ſtaple itſelf, which is near the ſea, is extremely well ſituated for receiving all the merchandiſe of the province and all that comes from Long Iſland, which is only ſeparated from the continent by a narrow canal.

This iſland, which takes its name from its figure, is one hundred and twenty miles in length by twelve in breadth. It was formerly very famous for the great number of whales and ſea-calves taken in its neighbourhood; but whether it is that the frequent fiſheries have driven away theſe animals, which generally ſeek quiet ſeas and deſert ſhores, they have diſappeared, and another branch of induſtry has been found to ſupply their loſs. As the paſtures are moſt excellent, the breeding of all kinds of cattle, and particularly horſes, has been much attended to, without neglecting any other branch of cultivation. All theſe different riches flow to the principal market, which is alſo increaſed by productions brought from a greater diſtance. Some parts of New England and New Jerſey find their account in pouring their ſtores into this magazine.

This mart is a very conſiderable town, which at preſent has the ſame name as the colony, and is called New York. It was formerly built by the Dutch, who gave it the name of New Amſterdam, in an iſland called Manahatton, which is fourteen leagues long and not very broad. In 1756, its population amounted to 10,468 whites, and 2,275 negroes. There is not any town where the air is better, or where there is a more general appearance of eaſe and plenty. Both the public edifices and private houſes convey the idea of ſolidity united to

BOOK XVII.

convenience. If the city, however, were attacked with vigour, it would hardly hold out twenty four hours, having no other defence of the road or the town except a bad fort and a ſtone retrenchment.

New York, which ſtands at the diſtance of about two miles from the mouth of Hudſon's river, has, properly ſpeaking, neither port or baſon, but it does not want either, becauſe its road is ſufficient. It is from thence that 250 or 300 ſhips are diſpatched every year for the different ports of Europe and America. England receives but a ſmall part of them, but they are the richeſt, becauſe they are thoſe whoſe cargo conſiſts in furs and beaver ſkins. The manner in which the colony gets poſſeſſion of theſe peltries is now to be explained.

As ſoon as the Dutch had built New Amſterdam in a ſituation which they thought favourable for the intercourſe with Europe, they next endeavoured to eſtabliſh an advantageous trade there. The only thing at that time in requeſt from North America was furs; but as the neighbouring ſavages offered but few, and thoſe indifferent ones, there was a neceſſity of puſhing to the north to have them better and in larger quantities. In conſequence of this a project was formed for an eſtabliſhment on the banks of Hudſon's river, at 150 miles diſtance from the capital; the circumſtances fortunately proved favourable for obtaining the conſent of the Iroquois, to whom the territory required, belonged. This brave nation happened to be then at war with the French, who were juſt arrived in Canada. Upon an agreement to ſupply them with the ſame arms that their enemies uſed, they allowed the Dutch to build fort Orange, which was afterwards called fort Albany. There was never the leaſt diſpute between the two nations; on the contrary, the Dutch, with the aſſiſtance of their powder,

lead

lead and guns, which they uſed to give in exchange for ſkins, ſecured to themſelves not only what they could get by their own hunting in all the five countries, but even the ſpoils collected by the Iroquois warriors in their expeditions.

THOUGH the Engliſh, upon their taking poſſeſſion of the colony, maintained the union with the ſavages, they did not think ſeriouſly of extending the fur trade, till the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685, introduced among them the art of making beaver hats. Their efforts were for a long time ineffectual, and there were chiefly two obſtacles to their ſucceſs. The French were accuſtomed to draw from Albany itſelf coverlids, thick worſted ſtuffs, different iron and copper manufactures, even arms and ammunition; all which they could ſell to the ſavages with ſo much the more advantage as theſe goods bought at Albany coſt them one third leſs than they would have done any other way. Beſides, the American nations, who were ſeparated from New York by the country of the Iroquois, in which no body choſe to venture far, could hardly treat with any but the French.

BURNET, who was governor of the Engliſh colony in 1720, was either the firſt who ſaw the evil, or the firſt who ventured to ſtrike at the root of it. He made the generally aſſembly forbid all communication between Albany and Canada, and then obtained the conſent of the Iroquois to build and fortify the factory of Oſwego at his own expence, on that part of the lake Ontario, by which moſt of the ſavages muſt paſs in their way to Montreal. In conſequence of theſe two operations, the beavers and the other peltries were pretty equally divided between the French and Engliſh. The acceſſion of Canada cannot but increaſe at preſent the ſhare New York had in the trade, as the latter is better

ſituated

BOOK XVII.

ſituated for it than the country which diſputed it with her.

If the Engliſh colony has gained by the acquiſition of Canada, it does not appear to have loſt any thing by being ſeparated from New Jerſey, which formerly made a part of New Belgia, under the title of New Sweden.

In what manner New Jerſey fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Its preſent ſtate.

The Swedes were, in fact, the firſt Europeans who ſettled in this region, about the year 1639. The neglect in which they were left by their own country, which was too weak to be able to extend its protection to them at ſo great a diſtance, obliged them, at the end of ſixteen years, to give themſelves up to the Dutch, who united this acquiſition to New Belgia. When the duke of York received the grant of the two countries he ſeparated them, and divided the leaſt of them, called New Jerſey, between two of his favourites.

Carteret and Berkley, the firſt of whom had received the eaſtern, and the other the weſtern part of the province, had ſollicited this vaſt territory with no other view but to put it up to ſale. Several adventurers accordingly bought large diſtricts of them at a low price, which they divided and ſold again in ſmaller parcels. In the midſt of theſe ſubdiviſions, the colony became divided into two diſtinct provinces, each ſeparately governed by the original proprietors. The exerciſe of this right growing at length inconvenient, as, indeed, it was ill adapted to the ſituation of a ſubject, they gave up their charter to the crown in 1702; and from that time the two provinces became one, and were directed like the greater part of the other Engliſh colonies by a governor, a council and a general aſſembly.

New Jersey, ſituated between 39 and 40 degrees north latitude, is bounded to the eaſt by New York, to the weſt by Penſylvania, to the north by unknown land, and

and to the ſouth by the ocean, which waſhes its coaſts through an extent of 120 miles. This large country before the laſt revolution contained only ſixteen thouſand inhabitants, the deſcendents of Swedes and Dutch, who were its firſt cultivators, to whom had been added ſome Quakers, and ſome church of England men, with a greater number of Preſbyterians. The defect of the government ſtopped the progreſs and occaſioned the indigence of this ſmall colony. It might, therefore, have been expected that the æra of liberty ſhould have been that of its proſperity; but almoſt all the Europeans who went to the new world in ſearch either of an aſylum or riches, preferring the milder and more fruitful climates of Carolina and Penſylvania; New Jerſey could never recover from its primitive languor. Even at this day, it does not reckon above fifty thouſand whites, united in villages, or diſperſed among the plantations, with twenty thouſand blacks. BOOK XVII.

THE poverty of this province not ſuffering it in the beginning to open a direct trade with the diſtant or foreign markets, it began to ſell its productions at Philadelphia, and eſpecially at New York, with which there was an eaſy communication by rivers. It has continued this practice ever ſince, and receives in exchange from the two cities ſome of the productions of the mother country. Far, however, from being able to acquire any objects of luxury, it cannot even afford to purchaſe all the articles of immediate neceſſity; but is obliged itſelf to manufacture the greateſt part of its clothing.

THERE is of courſe very little ſpecie in the colony, which is reduced to the uſe of paper-currency. All its bills together do not amount to more than 350,000 livres.(u) As they are current both in Penſylvania and New

(u) 59,062*l.* 10*s.*

BOOK XVII. New York, which do not take any of each others bills; they bear an advanced premium above the bills of these two colonies, by being made use of in all the payments between them.

But so trifling an advantage will never give any real importance to New Jersey. It is from out of its own bosom, that is, from the culture of its immense tract of desert country, that it is to draw its vigour and prosperity. As long as it stands in need of intermediate agents it will never recover from the state of languor into which it is plunged. This the colony is thoroughly sensible of, and all its efforts are now directed to this end, in order to enable it to act for itself. It has even already made some with success. As far back as the year 1751, it found means to fit out, at its own expence, thirty-eight vessels bound to Europe, or to the southern isles of America. These vessels carried 188,000 quintals of biscuits, six thousand, four hundred and twenty-four barrels of flour, seventeen thousand, nine hundred and forty-one bushels of corn, three hundred and fourteen barrels of salt beef and pork, fourteen hundred quintals of hemp; together with a pretty large quantity of hams, butter, beer, linseed, iron in bars, and wood for building. It is imagined that this direct trade may have increased one third since that time.

This beginning of riches must raise the emulation, the industry, the hopes, the projects, and the enterprises of a colony, which hitherto had not been able to sustain the part in trade, which its situation seemed to promise it. If, however, there are some poor and feeble states that draw their subsistence and support from the vicinity of others more rich and more brilliant than themselves, there are a far greater number whom such a neighbourhood en-

entirely cruſhes and deſtroys. Such, perhaps, has been the fate of New Jerſey, as will appear from the hiſtory we are going to give of Penſylvania, which lying too cloſe to this colony has ſometimes ſtifled it with its ſhadow, ſometimes eclipſed it with its ſplendor. BOOK XVII.

END OF THE SEVENTEENTH BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK XVIII.

Engliſh colonies founded in Penſylvania, Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. General reflections on all theſe ſettlements.

The Quakers found Penſylvania. Manners of that ſect.

LUTHERANISM, which was deſtined to cauſe a remarkable change in Europe, either by its own influence, or by the example it gave, had occaſioned a great fermentation in the minds of all men; when there aroſe from the midſt of it a new religion, which at firſt appeared much more like a rebellion guided by fanaticiſm than like a ſect that was governed by any fixed principles. In fact, the generality of innovators follow a regular ſyſtem compoſed of doctrines connected with each other, and in the beginning, at leaſt, take arms only to defend themſelves. The Anabaptiſts, on the contrary, as if they had only looked into the Bible for the word of command to attack, lifted up the ſtandard of rebellion, before they had agreed upon a ſyſtem of doctrine. It is true, indeed, that their leaders had taught, that it was a ridiculous and uſeleſs practice to adminiſter baptiſm to infants, and aſſerted that their opinion upon this point

was the ſame as that of the primitive church; but they had not yet ever practiſed themſelves this only article of faith, which furniſhed a pretence for ſeparation. The ſpirit of ſedition precluded them from paying a proper attention to the ſchiſmatic tenets on which their diviſion was founded. To ſhake off the tyrannical yoke of church and ſtate, was their law and their faith. To enliſt in the armies of the lord, to join with the faithful, who were to wield the ſword of Gideon, this was their device, their motive, and their ſignal for rallying.

It was not till after they had carried fire and ſword into a great part of Germany, that the anabaptiſts thought at laſt of marking and cementing their confederacy by ſome viſible ſign of union. Having been inſpired at firſt to raiſe a body of troops, in 1525 they were inſpired to compoſe a religious code, and the following were the tenets they adopted.

In the mixed ſyſtem of intolerance and mildneſs by which they are guided, the anabaptiſt church being the only one in which the pure word of God is taught, neither can nor ought to communicate with any other.

The ſpirit of the Lord blowing whereſoever it liſteth, the power of preaching is not limited to one order of the faithful, but is given to all. Every one likewiſe has the gift of prophecy.

Every ſect which has not preſerved the community of all things which conſtituted the life and ſpirit of primitive chriſtianity, has degenerated, and is for that reaſon an impure ſociety.

Magistrates are uſeleſs in a ſociety of the truly faithful. A chriſtian never has occaſion for any; nor is a chriſtian allowed to be one himſelf.

Christians

BOOK XVIII.

CHRISTIANS are not permitted to take up arms even in their own defence, much leſs is it lawful for them to inliſt as ſoldiers in mercenary armies.

BOTH law-ſuits and oaths are forbidden the diſciples of Chriſt, who has commanded them to let their yea, be yea, and their nay, nay.

THE baptiſm of infants is an invention of the devil and of the pope. The validity of baptiſm depends upon the voluntary conſent of the adults, who alone are able to receive it with a conſciouſneſs of the engagement they take upon themſelves.

SUCH was in its origin the religious ſyſtem of the Anabaptiſts. Though it appears founded on charity and mildneſs, yet it produced nothing but violence and iniquity. The chimerical idea of an equality of ſtations is the moſt dangerous one that can be adopted in a civilized ſociety. To preach this ſyſtem to the people, is not to put them in mind of their rights, it is leading them on to aſſaſſination and plunder. It is letting domeſtic animals looſe, and transforming them into wild beaſts. The maſters who govern the people muſt be better informed, or the laws by which they are conducted muſt be ſoftened: but there is in fact no ſuch thing in nature as a real equality; it exiſts only in the ſyſtem of equity. Even the ſavages themſelves are not equal, when once they are collected into hords. They are only ſo, while they wander in the woods; and then the man who ſuffers the produce of his chace to be taken from him, is not the equal of him who deprives him of it. Such has been the origin of all ſocieties.

A doctrine, the baſis of which was the community of goods and equality of ranks, was hardly calculated to find partizans any where but among the poor. The peaſants all accordingly adopted it with the more violence in

in proportion as the yoke from which it delivered them was more insupportable. The far greater part, especially those who were condemned to slavery, rose up in arms on all sides, to support a doctrine, which, from being vassals, made them equal to their lords. The apprehension of seeing one of the first bands of society, obedience to the magistrate, broken, united all other sects against them, who could not subsist without subordination. After having carried on a more obstinate resistance than could have been expected, they yielded at length to the number of their enemies. Their sect, notwithstanding it had made its way all over Germany, and into a part of the north, was no where prevalent, because it had been every where opposed and dispersed. It was but just tolerated in those countries, in which the greatest latitude of opinion was allowed; and there was not any state in which it was able to settle a church, authorized by the civil power. This of course weakened it, and from obscurity it fell into contempt. Its only glory is that of having, perhaps, contributed to the foundation of the sect of the quakers.

This humane and pacific sect had arisen in England amidst the confusions of a war, which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the scaffold by his own subjects. The founder of it George Fox, was of the lower class of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a singular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his profession. In order to wean himself entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods, without any other amusement but his bible. In time he even learnt to go without that, when he thought he had

BOOK XVIII.

acquired from it a degree of inſpiration ſimilar to that of the apoſtles and the prophets.

THEN he began to think of making proſelytes, which he found not in the leaſt difficult in a country where the minds of all men were filled and diſturbed with enthuſiaſtic notions. He was, therefore, ſoon followed by a multitude of diſciples, the novelty and ſingularity of whoſe notions upon incomprehenſible ſubjects, could not fail of attracting and faſcinating all thoſe who were fond of the marvellous.

THE firſt thing, by which they caught the eye, was the ſimplicity of their dreſs, in which there was neither gold nor ſilver lace, nor embroidery, nor laces, nor ruffles, and from which they affected to baniſh every thing that was ſuperfluous or unneceſſary. They would not ſuffer either a button in the hat, or a plait in the coat, becauſe it was poſſible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for eſtabliſhed modes reminded thoſe who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the reſt of men, from whom they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by this external modeſty.

ALL the external deferences which the pride and tyranny of mankind exact from thoſe who are unable to refuſe them, were diſdained by the quakers, who diſclaimed the names of maſter and ſervant. They condemned all titles as pride in thoſe who claimed them, and as meanneſs in thoſe who beſtowed them. They did not allow to any perſon whatever the appellation of eminence or excellence, and ſo far they might be in the right; but they refuſed to comply with thoſe reciprocal marks of attention which we call politeneſs, and in this they were to blame. The name of friend, they ſaid, was not to be refuſed by one chriſtian or citizen to another, but the ceremony of bowing they conſidered as ridiculous and troubleſome.

troublesome. To pull off one's hat they held to be a want of respect to one's self, in order to shew it to others. They carried it so far, that even the magistrates could not draw from them any external token of reverence; but they addressed both them and princes according to the ancient majesty of language, in the second person and in the singular number. BOOK XVIII.

The austeirty of their morals ennobled the singularity of their manners. The use of arms, considered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it was to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity, if to defend one's self, it was breaking through those of christianity. Universal peace was the gospel they had agreed to profess. If any one smote a quaker upon one cheek, he immediately presented the other; if any one asked him for his coat, he offered his waistcoat too. Nothing could engage these equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work, or to take less than what they demanded. An oath even before a magistrate and in a just cause they deemed to be a profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched disputes that arise between weak and perishable beings.

The contempt they had for the outward forms of politeness in civil life was changed into aversion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the parade of religion, they considered the sabbath as a pernicious idleness, and baptism and the Lord's supper as ridiculous symbols. For this reason, they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghost, which gave a character far superior to that of the priesthood. When they were assembled together, the first person who found himself inspired arose and imparted the lights he had received

BOOK XVIII.

from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of ſpeech which they called the gift of prophecy; ſometimes many of theſe holy brethren ſpoke at the ſame time; but much more frequently a profound ſilence prevailed in their aſſemblies.

The enthuſiaſm occaſioned both by their meditations and diſcourſes, excited ſuch a degree of ſenſibility in the nervous ſyſtem, that it threw them into convulſions, for which reaſon they were called quakers. To have cured theſe people in proceſs of time of their folly, nothing more was requiſite than to turn it into ridicule; but inſtead of this, perſecution contributed to make it more general. Whilſt every other new ſect met with encouragement, this was expoſed to every kind of puniſhment, impriſonments, whippings, pillories, mad-houſes, nothing was thought too terrible for bigots, whoſe only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reaſonable over much. The conſtancy with which they bore their ſufferings, at firſt excited compaſſion and afterwards admiration for them. Even Cromwel, who had been one of their moſt violent enemies, becauſe they uſed to inſinuate themſelves into his camps, and diſcourage his ſoldiers from their profeſſion, gave them public marks of his eſteem. His policy exerted itſelf in endeavouring to draw them into his party, in order to conciliate himſelf a higher degree of reſpect and conſideration, but they either eluded his invitations or rejected them, and he afterwards confeſſed that this was the only religion in which his guineas had taken no effect.

Amongst the ſeveral perſons who caſt a temporary luſtre on the ſect, the only one who deſerves to be remembered by poſterity, is William Penn. He was the ſon of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally diſtinguiſhed by Cromwel and the two Steuarts,

who

who held the reins of government after him. This able ſeaman, more ſupple and more inſinuating than men commonly are in his profeſſion, had made conſiderable advances to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not ſuffered them to be repaid during his life, and as affairs were not in a better ſituation at his death, it was propoſed to his ſon, that inſtead of money, he ſhould accept of an immenſe territory in America. It was a country, which though long ſince diſcovered and ſurrounded by Engliſh colonies, had always been neglected. The love of humanity made him accept with pleaſure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almoſt as a ſovereignty, and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the aſylum of the unfortunate. With this generous deſign, towards the end of the year 1681, he ſet ſail for his new poſſeſſions, which from that time took the name of Penſylvania. All the quakers were deſirous to follow him, in order to avoid the perſecution raiſed againſt them by the clergy, on account of their not complying with the tithes and other eccleſiaſtical fees; but his prudence engaged him to take over no more than two thouſand.

Upon what principles Penſylvania was founded.

His arrival in the new world was ſignalized by an act of equity which made his perſon and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly ſatisfied with the right given him to his extenſive territory, by the ceſſion of the Britiſh miniſter, he determined to make it his own property by purchaſing it of the natives. The price he gave to the ſavages is not known; but though ſome people accuſe them of ſtupidity for conſenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not leſs entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and juſtice in America, never ſo much

BOOK XVIII.

much as thought of before by the Europeans. He made his acquiſition as valid as he could, and by the uſe he made of it he ſupplied any deficiency there might be in the legality of his title. The Americans conceived as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived an averſion for all thoſe which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their conſent. From that time there aroſe a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to ſhake.

Penn's humanity could not be confined to the ſavages only, it extended itſelf to all thoſe who were deſirous of living under his laws. Senſible that the happineſs of the people depended upon the nature of the legiſlation, he founded his upon thoſe two firſt principles of public ſplendor and private felicity, liberty and property. Here it is that the mind reſts with pleaſure upon modern hiſtory, and feels ſome kind of compenſation for the diſguſt, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European ſettlements in America inſpires. Hitherto we have only ſeen theſe Barbarians ſpreading depopulation before they took poſſeſſion, and laying every thing waſte before they cultivated. It is time to obſerve the ſeeds of reaſon, happineſs and humanity ſown and ſpringing up amidſt the ruin of an hemiſphere, which ſtill reaks with the blood of all its people, civilized as well as ſavage.

This virtuous legiſlator made toleration the baſis of his ſociety. He admitted every man who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every chriſtian eligible to ſtate-employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the ſupreme being as he thought proper, and neither eſtabliſhed a reigning church in Penſylvania,

nor

nor exacted contributions for building places of public worſhip, nor compelled any perſons to attend them.

JEALOUS of immortalizing his name, he veſted in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the colony; but he ordained that no profits ſhould be annexed to his employment, except ſuch as were voluntarily granted; and that he ſhould have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens who had an intereſt in the law, by having one in the circumſtance the law was intended to regulate, were to be electors and might be choſen. To avoid as much as poſſible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the repreſentatives ſhould be choſen by ſuffrages privately given. To eſtabliſh a law of plurality of voices was ſufficient; but a majority of two thirds was neceſſary to ſettle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a ſubſidy demanded by government; but was it poſſible to grant leſs indulgences to men who were come ſo far in ſearch of peace?

SUCH was the opinion of that real philoſopher Penn. He gave a thouſand acres to all thoſe who could afford to pay 430 livres *(w)* for them. Every one who could not, obtained for himſelf, his wife, each of his children above ſixteen years old, and each of his ſervants fifty acres of land, for the annual quit-rent of one ſol, ten deniers and a half *(x)* per acre.

To fix theſe properties for ever he eſtabliſhed tribunals to protect the laws made for the preſervation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands to make thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of them purchaſe the law that ſecures them: for in that caſe one is obliged to give away part of one's property in order to ſecure the reſt; and law, in proceſs of time, exhauſts the very treaſures it

(w) 19*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* *(x)* About one penny.

BOOK XVIII.

ſhould preſerve, and the very property it ſhould defend. Leſt any perſons ſhould be found whoſe intereſt it might be to encourage or prolong law-ſuits, he forbad under very ſtrict penalties all thoſe who were engaged in the adminiſtration of juſtice, to receive any ſalary or gratification whatſoever. And further, every diſtrict was obliged to chuſe three arbitrators, whoſe buſineſs it was to endeavour to prevent, and make up any diſputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of juſtice.

THIS attention to prevent law-ſuits ſprang from the deſire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to puniſh, were directed to put a ſtop to them even in their very ſources, poverty and idleneſs. It was enacted that every child above twelve years old, ſhould be obliged to learn a profeſſion, let his condition be what it would. This regulation at the ſame time that it ſecured the poor man a ſubſiſtence, furniſhed the rich man with a reſource againſt every reverſe of fortune, preſerved the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original deſtination, which is that of labour, either of the mind or of the body.

SUCH primary inſtitutions would be neceſſarily productive of an excellent legiſlation; and accordingly the advantages of that eſtabliſhed by Penn, manifeſted itſelf in the rapid and continued proſperity of Penſylvania, which, without either wars, or conqueſts, or ſtruggles, or any of thoſe revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, ſoon became an object fit to excite the admiration of the whole univerſe. Its neighbours, notwithſtanding their ſavage ſtate, were ſoftened by the ſweetneſs of its manners, and diſtant nations, notwithſtanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to ſee thoſe heroic days of antiquity realized, which European

ropean manners and laws had long taught every one to consider as entirely fabulous. BOOK XVIII.

Prosperity of Pensylvania.

PENSYLVANIA is defended to the east by the ocean, to the north by New York and New Jersey, to the south by Virginia and Maryland, to the West by the Indians; on all sides by friends, and within itself by the virtue of its inhabitants. Its coasts, which are at first very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles, and the breadth of it, which has no other limits than its population and culture, already comprehends 145 miles. The sky of the colony is pure and serene, the climate very wholesome of itself, has been still rendered more so by cultivation, the waters equally salubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or sand; the year is tempered by the regular return of the seasons. Winter, which begins in the month of January, lasts till the end a March. As it is seldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally speaking, moderate; sometimes, however, sharp enough to freeze the largest rivers in one night. This revolution, which is as short as it is sudden, is occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The spring is ushered in by soft rains and by a gentle heat, which increases gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog-days would be insupportable were it not for the refreshing breezes of the south-west wind; but this succour, though pretty constant, sometimes exposes them to hurricanes that blow down whole forests, and tear up trees by the roots, especially in the neighbourhood of the sea, where they are most violent. The three autumnal months are commonly attended with no other inconvenience but that of being too rainy.

THOUGH the country is unequal, it is not less fertile. The soil in some places consists of a yellow black sand, in

BOOK XVIII.

in others it is gravelly, and ſometimes it is a greyiſh aſh upon a ſtony bottom; generally ſpeaking, it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which interſecting it in all directions, contribute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

When the Europeans firſt came into the country, they found nothing in it but wood for building and iron mines. In proceſs of time, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, with a great variety of fruits, with plantations of flax and hemp, with many kinds of vegetables, with every ſort of grain, and eſpecially with rye and maize; which a happy experience had ſhewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs as excited the aſtoniſhment of all nations.

From whence could ariſe this extraordinary proſperity? From that civil and religious liberty which have attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly ſome laborious Germans into that country. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptiſts, church of England-men, Methodiſts, Preſbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans and Catholics.

Among the numerous ſects which abound in this country, a very diſtinguiſhed one is that of the Dumplers. It was founded by a German, who, diſguſted of the world, retired to an agreeable ſolitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himſelf up to contemplation. Curioſity brought ſeveral of his countrymen to viſit his retreat, and by degrees his pious, ſimple and peaceable manners induced them to ſettle near him, and they all formed a little colony which they called Euphrates, in alluſion to the Hebrews, who uſed to ſing pſalms on the borders of that river.

This

THIS little city forms a triangle, the outſides of which are bordered with mulberry and apple-trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard, and between the orchard and theſe ranges of trees are houſes, built of wood, three ſtories high, where every Dumpler is left to enjoy the pleaſures of his meditations without diſturbance. Theſe contemplative men do not amount to above five hundred in all; their territory is about 250 acres in extent, the boundaries of which are marked by a river, a piece of ſtagnated water, and a mountain covered with trees.

THE men and women live in ſeparate quarters of the city. They never ſee each other but at places of worſhip, nor are there any aſſemblies of any kind but for public buſineſs. Their life is taken up in labour, prayer and ſleep. Twice every day and night they are called forth from their cells to attend divine ſervice. Like the Methodiſts and Quakers every individual among them poſſeſſes the right of preaching when he thinks himſelf inſpired. The favourite ſubjects on which they love to diſcourſe in their aſſemblies, are humility, temperance, chaſtity, and the other chriſtian virtues. They never violate the reſt of the Sabbath, which is ſo much the delight of laborious as well as idle men. They admit a hell and a paradiſe; but reject the eternity of future puniſhments. The doctrine of original ſin is with them an impious blaſphemy which they abhor, and in general every tenet cruel to man appears to them injurious to the divinity. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works, they only adminiſter baptiſm to the adult. At the ſame time they think baptiſm ſo eſſentially neceſſary to ſalvation, that they imagine the ſouls of chriſtians in another world are employed in converting thoſe who have not died under the law of the goſpel.

STILL

BOOK XVIII.

STILL more diſintereſted than the Quakers, they never allow themſelves any law-ſuits. One may cheat, rob and abuſe them without ever being expoſed to any retaliation, or even any complaint from them. Religion has the ſame effect on them that philoſophy had upon the Stoics; it makes them inſenſible to every kind of inſult.

NOTHING can be plainer than their dreſs. In winter, it is made of a long white gown, from whence there hangs a hood, to ſerve inſtead of a hat, a coarſe ſhirt, thick ſhoes, and very wide breeches. There is no great difference in ſummer, only that linen is uſed inſtead of woollen. The women are dreſſed much like the men, except the breeches.

THEIR common food is only vegetable, not becauſe it is unlawful to make uſe of any other, but becauſe that kind of abſtinence is looked upon as more conformable to the ſpirit of chriſtianity which has an averſion for blood. Each individual follows with chearfulneſs the branch of buſineſs allotted to him. The produce of all their labours is depoſited into a common ſtock, in order to ſupply the neceſſities of every one. Beſides the cultivation, manufactures, and all the arts neceſſary to the little ſociety, which are thus produced by united induſtry, it affords a ſuperfluous part for exchanges proportioned to the population.

THOUGH the two ſexes live ſeparate at Euphrates, the Dumplers do not on that account fooliſhly renounce matrimony. But thoſe who find themſelves diſpoſed to it leave the city, and form an eſtabliſhment in the country, which is ſupported at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all thrown into the public treaſury, and their children are ſent to be educated in the mother country. Without this wiſe privilege, the Dumplers would be nothing more than monks,

monks, and in proceſs of time would become either ſavages or libertines.

WHAT is moſt edifying and at the ſame time moſt extraordinary is, the harmony that ſubſiſts between all the ſects eſtabliſhed in Penſylvania, notwithſtanding the difference of their religious opinions. Though they are not all of the ſame church, they all love and cheriſh one another as children of the ſame father. They have always continued to live like brothers, becauſe they had the liberty of thinking as men. It is to this delightful harmony that it muſt attribute more particularly the rapid progreſs of the colony.

AT the beginning of the year 1766 its population amounted to 150,000 white people. The number muſt have been conſiderably increaſed from that period, ſince it is doubled every fifteen years, according to Mr. Franklin's calculations. There were ſtill thirty thouſand blacks in the province, who met with leſs ill-uſage in this province than in the others, but who were ſtill exceedingly unhappy. A circumſtance, however, not eaſily believed is, that the ſubjection of the negroes has not corrupted the morals of their maſters; their manners are ſtill pure, and even auſtere, in Penſylvania. Is this ſingular advantage to be aſcribed to the climate, the laws, the religion, the emulation conſtantly ſubſiſting between the different ſects, or to ſome other particular cauſe? Let the reader determine this queſtion.

THE Penſylvanians are in general well made, and their women of an agreeable figure. As they ſooner become mothers than in Europe, they ſooner ceaſe breeding. If the heat of the climate ſeems on the one hand to haſten the operations of nature, its inconſtancy weakens them on the other. There is no place where the temperature

of

BOOK XVIII.

of the ſky is more uncertain, for it ſometimes changes five or ſix times in the ſame day.

As however theſe varieties neither have any dangerous influence upon the vegetables, nor deſtroy the harveſts, there is a conſtant plenty, and an univerſal appearance of eaſe. The œconomy which is ſo particularly attended to in Penſylvania does not prevent both ſexes from being well cloathed; and their food is ſtill preferable in its kind to their clothing. The families, whoſe circumſtances are the leaſt eaſy, have all of them bread, meat, cyder, beer and rum. A very great number are able to afford to drink conſtantly French and Spaniſh wines, punch, and even liquors of a higher price. The abuſe of theſe ſtrong drinks is leſs frequent than in other places, but is not without example.

The pleaſing view of this abundance is never diſturbed by the melancholy ſight of poverty. There are no poor in all Penſylvania. All thoſe whoſe birth or fortune have left them without reſources, are ſuitably provided for out of the public treaſury. The ſpirit of benevolence is carried ſtill further, and is extended even to the moſt engaging hoſpitality. A traveller is welcome to ſtop in any place, without the apprehenſions of giving the leaſt uneaſy ſenſation, except that of regret for his departure.

The happineſs of the colony is not diſturbed by the oppreſſive burden of taxes. In 1766, they did not amount to more than 280,140 livres.(y) Moſt of them, even thoſe that were deſigned to repair the damages of war, were to ceaſe in 1722. If the people did not experience this alleviation at that period, it was owing to the irruptions of the ſavages, which had occaſioned extraordinary expences. This trifling inconvenience would not have been attended to, if Penn's family could have been prevailed upon

(y) 12,256*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

upon to contribute to the public expences, in proportion to the revenue they obtain from the province: a circumſtance required by the inhabitants, and which in equity they ought to have complied with. BOOK XVIII.

THE Penſylvanians, happy poſſeſſors, and peaceable tenants of a country that uſually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, are not reſtrained by fear from the propagation of their ſpecies. There is hardly an unmarried perſon to be met with in the country. Marriage is only the more happy and the more reverenced for it; the freedom as well as the ſanctity of it depends upon the choice of the parties: they chuſe the lawyer and the prieſt rather as witneſſes, than miniſters of the engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any oppoſition, they go off on horſeback together, the man gets behind his miſtreſs, and in this ſituation they preſent themſelves before the magiſtrate, where the girl declares ſhe has run away with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So ſolemn an avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any perſon a right to give them any moleſtation. In all other caſes, paternal authority is exceſſive. The head of a family, whoſe affairs are involved, is allowed to engage his children to his creditors; a puniſhment one ſhould imagine very ſufficient to induce a fond father to attend to his affairs. A man grown up acquits in one year's ſervice a debt of 112 livres, 10 ſols: (z) children under twelve years of age are obliged to ſerve till they are one and twenty, to pay 135 livres. (a) This is an image of the old patriarchal manners of the eaſt.

THOUGH there are ſeveral villages and even ſome cities in the colony, moſt of the inhabitants may be ſaid to live ſeparately, as it were, within their families. Every proprietor

(z) 4*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* farthing. (a) 5*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.* halfpenny.

BOOK XVIII.

prietor of land has his house in the midst of a large plantation entirely surrounded with quickset hedges. Of course each parish is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This distance of the churches makes the ceremonies of religion have little effect, and still less influence. Children are not baptized till a few months, and sometimes not till a year or two after their birth.

All the pomp of religion seems reserved for the last honours man receives before he is shut up in the grave for ever. As soon as any one is dead in the country, the neareſt neighbours have notice given them of the day of burial. These spread it in the habitations next to theirs, and within a few hours the news is thus conveyed to a distance. Every family sends at least one person to attend the funeral. As they come in they are presented with punch and cake. When the assembly is complete, the corpse is carried to the burying ground belonging to his sect, or if that should be at too great a distance, into one of the fields belonging to the family. There is generally a train of four or five hundred persons on horseback, who observe a continual silence, and have all the external appearance suited to the melancholy nature of the ceremony. One singular circumstance is, that the Pensylvanians who are the greatest enemies to parade during their lives, seem to forget this character of modesty at their deaths. They all are desirous that the poor remains of their short lives should be attended with a funeral pomp suited to their rank or fortune.

It is a general observation that plain and virtuous nations, even savage and poor ones, are remarkably attached to the care of their burials. The reason of it is, that they look upon these last honours as duties of the survivors, and the duties themselves as so many distinct proofs of that principle of love, which is very strong in private

private families whilſt they are in a ſtate neareſt to that of nature. It is not the dying man himſelf who exacts theſe honours, it is his parents, his wife, his children, who voluntarily pay them to the aſhes of a huſband and father, that has deſerved to be lamented. Theſe ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in ſmall ſocieties than in larger ones, becauſe though there are fewer families upon the whole, the number of individuals there is much larger, and all the ties that connect them with each other are much ſtronger. This kind of intimate union has been the reaſon why ſo many ſmall nations have overcome larger ones; it drove Xerxes and the Perſians out of Greece, and it will ſome time or other expel the French out of Corſica.

But from whence does Penſylvania draw the materials for her own conſumption, and in what manner does ſhe contrive to be abundantly furniſhed with them? With the flax and hemp, that is produced at home, and the cotton ſhe procures from South America, ſhe fabricates a great quantity of ordinary linens; and with the wool that comes from Europe ſhe manufactures many coarſe cloths. Whatever her own induſtry is not able to furniſh, ſhe purchaſes with the produce of her territory. Her ſhips carry over to the Engliſh, French, Dutch and Daniſh iſlands, biſcuit, flour, butter, cheeſe, tallow, vegetables, fruits, ſalt meat, cyder, beer, and all ſorts of wood for building. The cotton, ſugar, coffee, brandy and money they receive in exchange, are ſo many materials for a freſh commerce with the mother country, and with other European nations as well as with other colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain and Portugal, open an advantageous market to the corn and wood of Penſylvania, which they purchaſe with wine and piaſtres. The mother country receives from Penſylvania iron, flax,

BOOK XVIII.

leather, furs, linſeed oil, maſts and yards, for which it returns thread, wool, fine cloths, tea, Iriſh and India linens, hard-ware, and other articles of luxury or neceſſity. As theſe, however, amount to a much greater ſum than what it buys, England may be conſidered as a gulph in which all the metals Penſylvania has drawn from the other parts of the world are ſunk again. In 1723, England ſent over goods to Penſylvania only to the value of 250,000 livres;(b) at preſent ſhe furniſhes to the amount of 10,000,000.(c) This ſum is too conſiderable for the coloniſts to be able to pay it, even in depriving themſelves of all the gold they draw from other markets; and this inability muſt continue as long as the improvement of their cultures ſhall require more conſiderable advances than their produce yields. Other colonies which enjoy almoſt excluſively ſome branches of trade, ſuch as rice, tobacco and indigo, muſt have grown rich very rapidly. Penſylvania whoſe riches are founded on agriculture and the increaſe of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her proſperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent baſis.

If any circumſtance can retard the progreſs of the colony, it muſt be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiſcriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided they are paid fifty crowns (d) for each hundred acres, and that the purchaſers agree to give an annual rent of about one ſol.(e) The conſequence of this is, that the province wants that ſort of connection which is neceſſary in all things, and that the ſcattered inhabitants eaſily

(b) 10,937*l.* 10*s.* (c) 437,500*l.* (d) 6*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*
(e) About one halfpenny.

easily become the prey of the moſt inſignificant enemy that will venture to attack them. BOOK XVIII.

THE habitations are cleared in different ways in the colony. Sometimes a huntſman will ſettle in the midſt of a foreſt, or quite cloſe to it. His neareſt neighbours aſſiſt him in cutting down trees, and heaping them up one over another: and this conſtitutes a houſe. Around this ſpot he cultivates, without any aſſiſtance, a garden or a field, ſufficient to ſubſiſt himſelf and his family.

A few years after the firſt labours were finiſhed, ſome more active and richer men arrived from the mother country. They paid the huntſman for his pains, and agreed with the proprietors of the provinces for ſome lands that have not yet been paid for. They built more commodious habitations, and cleared a greater extent of territory.

AT length ſome Germans, who came into the new world from inclination, or were driven into it by perſecution, completed theſe ſettlements that were as yet unfiniſhed. The firſt and ſecond order of planters removed their induſtry into other parts, with a more conſiderable ſtock for carrying on their cultures than they had at firſt.

THE annual exports of Penſylvania may be valued at 25,000 tons. It receives four hundred ſhips, and fits out about an equal number. They all or almoſt all come into Philadelphia, which is the capital, from whence they are alſo diſpatched.

THIS famous city, whoſe very name recalls every humane feeling, is ſituated at the conflux of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, about 120 miles from the ſea. Penn, who deſtined it for the metropolis of a great empire, deſigned it to be one mile in breadth, and two in length between the rivers, but its population has proved inſuffi-

BOOK XVIII.

cient to cover this extent of ground. Hitherto they have built only upon the banks of the Delaware; but without giving up the ideas of the legiſlator, or deviating from his plan. Theſe precautions are highly proper: Philadelphia muſt become the moſt conſiderable city of America, becauſe it is impoſſible that the colony ſhould not improve greatly, and its productions muſt paſs through the harbour of the capital before they arrive at the ſea. The ſtreets of Philadelphia, which are all regular, are in general fifty feet broad; the two principal ones are a hundred. On each ſide of them, there are foot-paths, guarded by poſts, placed at different diſtances. The houſes, each of which has its garden and orchard, are commonly two ſtories high, and are built either of brick, or of a kind of ſoft ſtone, which grows hard by being expoſed to the air. Till very lately the walls had but little thickneſs, becauſe they were only to be covered with a very light kind of wood. Since the diſcovery of ſlate quarries, the walls have acquired a ſolidity proportioned to the weight of the new roofs. The preſent buildings have received an additional decoration from a kind of marble of different colours, which is found about a mile out of the town. Of this they make tables, chimney-pieces, and other houſhold furniture; beſides which it is become a pretty conſiderable object of commerce with the greateſt part of America.

THESE valuable materials could not have been commonly found in the houſes, if they had not been laviſhed in the churches. Every ſect has its own church, and ſome of them have ſeveral.

THE town-houſe is a building held in as much veneration, though not ſo much frequented as the churches. It is conſtructed in the moſt ſumptuous magnificence. It is there that the legiſlators of the colony aſſemble every year,

year, and more frequently if neceſſary, to ſettle every thing relative to public buſineſs; the whole of which is ſubmitted to the authority of the nation in the perſons of its repreſentatives. Next to the town houſe is a moſt elegant library, which owes its exiſtence to the care of the learned Doctor Franklin. In it are found the beſt Engliſh, French and Latin authors. It is only open to the public on Saturdays. Thoſe who have founded it have a free acceſs to it the whole year. The reſt pay a trifle for the loan of the books, and a forfeit if they are not returned in due time. This little fund conſtantly accumulating is appropriated to the increaſe of the library, to which have been lately added, in order to make it more uſeful, ſome mathematical and philoſophical inſtruments, with a very fine cabinet of natural hiſtory.

THE college, which is intended to prepare the mind for the attainment of all the ſciences, was founded in 1749. At firſt, it only initiated the youth in the Belles Lettres. In 1764, a claſs of medicine was eſtabliſhed there. Knowledge of every kind and adepts in the ſciences will increaſe in proportion as the lands, which are become their patrimony, ſhall yield a greater produce. If ever deſpotiſm, ſuperſtition or war ſhould plunge Europe again into that ſtate of barbariſm from whence philoſophy and the arts have drawn it, the ſacred fire will be kept alive in Philadelphia, and come from thence to enlighten the world. This city is amply ſupplied with every aſſiſtance human nature can require, and with all the reſources induſtry can make uſe of. Its keys, the principal of which is two hundred feet wide, preſent a ſuite of convenient warehouſes and receſſes ingeniouſly contrived for ſhip-building. Ships of five hundred tons may land there without any difficulty, except in the times of froſt. There they load the merchandiſe which has

BOOK XVIII.

either come down the Schuylkill and Delaware, or along roads better than are to be met with in moſt parts of Europe. Police has made a greater progreſs in this part of the new world, than among the moſt ancient nations of the old. It is impoſſible to determine preciſely the population of Philadelphia, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any exactneſs, and there are ſeveral ſects who do not chriſten their children. It appears a fact, however, that in 1766 it contained twenty thouſand inhabitants. As moſt of them are employed in the ſale of the productions of the colony, and in ſupplying it with what they draw from abroad, it is impoſſible that their fortunes ſhould not be very conſiderable; and they muſt increaſe ſtill further, in proportion as the cultivation advances in a country where hitherto not above one ſixth of the land has been cleared.

PHILADELPHIA, as well as Newcaſtle and the other cities of Penſylvania, is intirely open. The whole country is equally without defence. This is a neceſſary conſequence of the principles of the Quakers, who have always maintained the principal influence in the public deliberations, though they do not form above one third part of the population of the colony. Theſe ſectaries cannot be too much favoured on account of their modeſty, probity, love of labour and benevolence. One might, perhaps, be tempted to accuſe their legiſlation of imprudence and temerity.

WHEN they eſtabliſhed that civil liberty which protects one citizen from another, ought not the founders of the colony to have taken ſome pains for the maintenance of political liberty alſo, which protects one ſtate from the encroachments of another? The authority which exerts itſelf to maintain peace and good order at home, ſeems to have done nothing if it has not prevented invaſion from abroad.

To

To pretend that the colony would never have any enemies, was to ſuppoſe the world peopled with Quakers. It was encouraging the ſtrong to fall upon the weak, leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and giving up all the country to the oppreſſive yoke of the firſt tyrant who ſhould think proper to ſubdue it.

But on the other hand, how ſhall we reconcile the ſtrictneſs of the goſpel maxims by which the Quakers are litterally governed, with that appearance of force either for offence or defence, which puts all chriſtian nations in a continual ſtate of war with each other? Beſides, what could the French or the Spaniards do if they were to enter Penſylvania ſword in hand? Unleſs they ſhould deſtroy in one night or in one day all the inhabitants of that fortunate region, they would not be able to cut off the race of thoſe mild and charitable men. Violence has its boundaries in its very exceſs; it conſumes and extinguiſhes itſelf, as the fire in the aſhes that feed it. But virtue, when guided by humanity and brotherly love, reanimates itſelf as the tree under the edge of the pruning knife. Wicked men ſtand in need of numbers to execute their ſanguinary projects. But the juſt man, or the Quaker, requires only a brother from whom he may receive, or to whom he may give aſſiſtance. Let then the warlike nations, people who are either ſlaves or tyrants, go into Penſylvania; there they will find all avenues open to them, all property at their diſpoſal; not a ſingle ſoldier, but numbers of merchants and farmers. But if they are tormented, reſtrained or oppreſſed, they will fly, and leave their lands uncultivated, their manufactures deſtroyed, and their warehouſes empty. They will go and cultivate, and ſpread population in ſome new land; they will go round the world, and expire in their progreſs rather than turn their arms againſt their purſuers, or ſub-

BOOK XVIII.

mit to bear their yoke. Their enemies will have acquired nothing, but the hatred of mankind and the curſes of poſterity.

It is upon this proſpect and on this foreſight, that the Penſylvanians have founded the opinion of their future ſecurity. At preſent they have nothing to fear from behind, ſince the French have loſt Canada; and the flanks of the colony are ſufficiently covered by the Engliſh ſettlements. As for the reſt, as they do not ſee that the moſt warlike ſtates are the moſt durable, or that miſtruſt, which is always awake, makes them reſt in greater quiet; or that there is any kind of ſatisfaction in the enjoyment of that which is held with ſo much fear; they live for the preſent moment, without any thought of a future day. Perhaps too, they may think themſelves ſecured by thoſe very precautions that are taken in the colonies that ſurround them. One of the barriers, or bulwarks that preſerves Penſylvania from a maritime invaſion to which it is expoſed, is Virginia.

Wretched ſtate of Virginia at its firſt ſettlement.

Virginia, which was intended to denote all that extenſive ſpace which the Engliſh propoſed to occupy in the continent of North-America, is at preſent confined within much narrower limits. It now comprehends only that country, which is bounded to the north by Maryland; to the ſouth by Carolina; to the weſt by the Apalachian mountains, and to the eaſt by the ocean. This ſpace contains two hundred and forty miles in length, and two hundred in breadth.

It was in 1606 that the Engliſh firſt landed at Virginia; and their firſt ſettlement was James-Town. Unfortunately the firſt object that preſented itſelf to them was a rivulet, which, iſſuing from a ſand-bank, drew after it a quantity of talc, which glittered at the bottom of a clear and running water. In an age when gold and

ſilver

ſilver mines were the only objects of mens reſearches, this deſpicable ſubſtance was immediately taken for ſilver. Every other labour was inſtantly ſuſpended to acquire it. And the illuſion was ſo complete, that two ſhips which had arrived there with neceſſaries were ſent home ſo fully freighted with theſe imaginary riches, that there ſcarce remained any room for a few furs. As long as the infatuation laſted, the coloniſts diſdained to employ themſelves in clearing the lands; ſo that a dreadful famine was at laſt the conſequence of this fooliſh pride. Sixty men only remained alive out of five hundred that had come from Europe. Theſe few, having only a fortnight's proviſion left, were upon the point of embarking for Newfoundland, when lord Delaware arrived there with three ſhips, a freſh colony and ſupplies of all kinds.

HISTORY has deſcribed this nobleman to us as a man whoſe genius raiſed him above the common prejudices of the times. His diſintereſtedneſs was equal to his knowledge. In accepting the government of the colony, which was ſtill in its infancy, his only motives had been to gratify the inclination a virtuous mind has to do good, and to ſecure the eſteem of poſterity, which is the ſecond reward of that generoſity that devotes itſelf totally to the ſervice of the public. As ſoon as he appeared the knowledge of his character procured him univerſal reſpect. He began by endeavouring to reconcile the wretched coloniſts to their fatal country, to comfort them in their ſufferings, to make them hope for a ſpeedy concluſion of them. After this, joining the firmneſs of an enlightened magiſtrate to the tenderneſs of a good father, he taught them how to direct their labours to an uſeful end. For the misfortune of the reviving colony, Delaware's declining health ſoon obliged him to return to Europe; but he never loſt ſight of his favourite coloniſts,

nor

BOOK XVIII.

nor ever failed to make use of all his credit and interest at court to support them. The colony, however, made but little progress, a circumstance that was attributed to the oppression of exclusive privileges. The company which exercised them was dissolved upon Charles the first's accession to the throne, and from that time Virginia was under the immediate direction of the crown, which exacted no more than a rent of 2 livres, 5 sols (f) upon every hundred acres that were cultivated.

Till this moment the colonists had known no true enjoyment of property. Every individual wandered where chance directed him, or fixed himself in the place he liked best, without consulting any titles or agreements. At length, boundaries were ascertained, and those who had been so long wanderers, now become citizens, had determined limits to their plantations. The establishment of this first law of society changed the appearance of every thing. New buildings arose on all sides, and were surrounded by fresh cultivations. This activity drew great numbers of enterprising men over to Virginia, who came either in search of fortune or of liberty, which is the only compensation for the want of it. The memorable troubles that produced a change in the constitution of England added to these a multitude of Royalists, who went there with a resolution to wait with Berkley, the governor of the colony, who was also attached to king Charles, the decision of that deserted monarch's fate. Berkley still continued to protect them, even after the king's death; but some of the inhabitants either seduced or intimidated, and seconded by the approach of a powerful fleet, delivered up the colony to the Protector. If the governor was compelled to follow the stream against his will, he was, at least, among those whom Charles had ho-

(f) About two shillings.

honoured with posts of confidence and rank, the last who submitted to Cromwell, and the first who shook off his yoke. This brave man was sinking under the oppression of the times, when the voice of the people recalled him to the place which his successor's death had left vacant; but far from yielding to these flattering sollicitations, he declared that he never would serve any but the legitimate heirs of the dethroned monarch: Such an example of magnanimity, at a time when there were no hopes of the restoration of the royal family, made such an impression upon the minds of the people, that Charles the second was proclaimed in Virginia before he had been proclaimed in England.

The colony did not, however, receive all the benefit from such a step which might naturally have been expected from it. Whilst the court, on one hand, granted to rapacious men of family exorbitant privileges, which swallowed up the properties of several obscure colonists; the parliament, on the other, laid excessive taxes upon both the exports from and imports to Virginia. This double oppression drained all the resources and dispelled all the hopes of the colony; and to complete its misfortunes, the savages, who had never been sufficiently caressed, took that opportunity to renew their incursions with a spirit and uniformity of design that had never been yet known.

Such a complication of misfortunes drove the Virginians to despair. Berkley, who had so long been their idol, was accused of wanting fortitude to resist the oppressions of the mother country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the savages. The eyes of all were immediately fixed upon Bacon, a young officer, full of vivacity, eloquence and intrepidity, of an insinuating disposition and an agreeable person. They chose him for their general

BOOK XVIII.

general in an irregular and tumultuous manner. Though his military ſucceſſes might have juſtified this prepoſſeſſion of the licentious multitude, yet this did not prevent the governor from declaring Bacon a traitor to his country. A ſentence ſo ſevere, and which was imprudent at the time, determined Bacon to aſſume a power by force which he had exerciſed peaceably and without oppoſition for ſix months. His death put a ſtop to all his projects. The malecontents, diſunited by the death of their chief, and intimidated by the troops which were coming from Europe, were induced to ſue for pardon, which was readily granted them. The rebellion, therefore, was attended with no bad conſequences. Mercy inſured obedience; and ſince that remarkable criſis the hiſtory of Virginia has been confined to the account of its plantations.

Adminiſtration of Virginia.

THIS great eſtabliſhment was governed at the beginning by perſons placed at the head of it by the company. Virginia afterwards attracted the attention of the mother country, which in 1620 gave it a regular form of government, compoſed of a chief, a council and deputies from each county; to whoſe united care the intereſts of the province were committed. At firſt, the council and repreſentatives of the people uſed to meet in the ſame room, as they do in Scotland. But in 1689 they divided, and had each their ſeparate chamber, in imitation of the parliament of England. This cuſtom has been continued ever ſince.

THE governor, who is always appointed by the king, and for an unlimited period, has the ſole diſpoſal of the regular troops, the militia and of all military employments, as well as the power of approving or rejecting whatever laws are propoſed by the general aſſembly. Beſides this, with the concurrence of the council, to which he

he leaves very little power in other matters, he may either prorogue or entirely diſſolve this kind of parliament: he chuſes all the magiſtrates, and all the collectors of the revenue; he alienates the unoccupied lands in a manner ſuitable to the eſtabliſhed forms, and diſpoſes of the public treaſure. So many prerogatives, which lead on to uſurpation, render government more arbitrary at Virginia than it is in the more northern colonies: they frequently open the door to oppreſſion.

THE council is compoſed of 12 members, created either by letters patent, or by particular order from the king. When there happen to be leſs than nine in the country, the governor chuſes three out of the principal inhabitants to make up the number. They form a kind of upper houſe, and are at the ſame time to aſſiſt the adminiſtration, and to counter-act tyranny. They have alſo the power of rejecting all acts paſſed in the lower houſe. The ſalaries of the whole body amount to no more than 7,875 livres.(g)

VIRGINIA is divided into 25 counties, each of which ſends two deputies. James-town, and the college have each of them ſeparately the right of naming one, which make up in all 52. Every inhabitant poſſeſſed of a freehold, except only women and minors, has the right of election, and that of being elected. Though there is no time fixed by law for holding the general aſſembly, it commonly meets either once a year, or once in every two years; and the meeting is very ſeldom deferred till three. The frequency of theſe meetings is infallibly kept up by the precaution of granting ſupplies only for a ſhort time. All acts paſſed in the two houſes muſt be ſent over to the ſovereign to receive his ſanction, but till that returns, they

(g) 384*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* halfpenny.

BOOK XVIII.

they are always in force, when they have been approved by the governor.

THE public revenues of Virginia are collected from different ſources, and appropriated in different manners. The tax of 2 livres, 5 ſols,(*b*) upon every quintal of tobacco; that of 16 livres, 17 ſols, and 6 deniers(*i*) per ton, which every veſſel, full or empty, is obliged to pay at its return from a voyage; that of 11 livres, 5 ſols(*k*) a head exacted from all paſſengers, ſlaves as well as freemen, upon their arrival in the colony; the penalties and forfeitures appointed by different acts of the province; the duty upon both the lands and perſonal eſtates of thoſe who leave no legitimate heir; theſe different articles, which together amount to 70,000 livres,(*l*) are to be employed in the current expences of the colony, according to the direction of the governor and the council. The general aſſembly has nothing more to do in this matter but to audit the accounts.

THIS aſſembly, however, has reſerved to itſelf the ſole diſpoſition of the funds raiſed for extraordinary ſervices. Theſe ariſe from a duty of entrance upon ſtrong liquors, from one of 22 livres, 10 ſols,(*m*) upon every ſlave, and one of 16 livres, 17 ſols,(*n*) upon every ſervant, not an Engliſhman, that enters the colony. A revenue of this nature muſt be extremely variable, but in general it is pretty conſiderable, and has been uſually well adminiſtered.

BESIDES theſe taxes, which are paid in money, there are others paid in kind. They are a ſort of a triple poll tax on the article of tobacco, which the white women only are exempted from. The firſt is raiſed by order of the general aſſembly, for the purpoſe of paying the expences

(*b*) 1*s.* 11*d.* halfpenny. (*i*) 14*s.* 9*d.* (*k*) 9*s.* 10*d.*
(*l*) 3,062*l.* 10*s.* (*m*) 19*s.* 8*d.* farthing. (*n*) About 14*s.* 9*d.*

pences of its meeting, for that of the militia, and for some other national exigences. The second, which is called provincial, is impoſed by the juſtices of the peace in each county for its particular uſes. The third is parochial, raiſed by the chief perſons of the community, upon every thing that has more or leſs connection with the eſtabliſhed form of worſhip. BOOK XVIII.

In the beginning juſtice was adminiſtered with that kind of diſintereſtedneſs, which was itſelf the ſecurity for the equity obſerved in it. One ſingle court had the cognizance of all cauſes, and uſed to decide them in a few days, leaving only an appeal to the general aſſembly, which was not leſs diligent in terminating them. So good a ſyſtem did not continue long: in 1692 all the ſtatutes and formalities of the mother country were adopted, and all the chicanery of it was introduced along with them. Since that time every county has its diſtinct tribunal compoſed of a ſheriff, his under officers and juries. From theſe courts all cauſes are carried to the council, where the governor preſides; who has the power of determining finally in all concerns as far as 6,750 livres. (o) If the ſums contended for are more conſiderable, the conteſt may be referred to the king: in all criminal matters, the council pronounces without appeal, not that the life of a citizen is of leſs conſequence than his property, but becauſe the application of the law is much eaſier in criminal, than in civil cauſes. The governor has the right of pardoning in all caſes but thoſe of wilful murder and high treaſon, and even in theſe he may ſuſpend the execution of the ſentence till he has ſent to know the king's pleaſure.

With reſpect to religion, the inhabitants not only began themſelves by profeſſing that of the church of England,

(o) About 295l.

BOOK XVIII.

land, but in 1642 the aſſembly paſſed a decree, which indirectly excluded all thoſe who ſhould not be of this communion from the province. The neceſſity of peopling the country ſoon occaſioned the repeal of this law, which was rather of a hierarchal than of a religious nature. A toleration granted ſo late, and evidently with reluctance, produced no great effect. Only five non-conformiſt churches were added to the colony, one of which conſiſted of preſbyterians, three of quakers, and one of French refugees.

THE mother church has 39 pariſhes. Every pariſh chuſes its miniſter, who muſt, however, be approved of by the governor before he takes poſſeſſion. In ſome pariſhes he is paid in land, and furniſhed with all the neceſſary inſtruments for cultivating it; in others, his ſalary is 16,000 pounds weight of tobacco. Beſides this he receives either 5 livres, 12 ſols, 6 deniers,(p) or fifty pounds of tobacco for every marriage; and 45 livres,(q) or four hundred pounds of tobacco for every funeral ſermon, which he is obliged to make over the grave of every free man. With all theſe advantages, moſt of the clergy are not contented, becauſe they may be deprived of their benefices by thoſe who conferred them.

AT firſt the colony was inhabited only by men; ſoon after they grew deſirous of ſharing the ſweets of their ſituation with female companions. In the beginning they gave 2,250 livres(r) for every young perſon that was brought them, from whom they required no other dowry than a certificate of virtue. When the ſalubrity and fertility of the climate were aſcertained, whole families, and even ſome of reſpectable condition, went over to ſettle in Virginia. In time they increaſed to ſuch a degree, that in 1703 there were already 66606 white people in the colony.

(p) About 4s. 11d. (q) 1l. 19. 4d. halfpenny. (r) 98l. 8s. 9d.

lony. If ſince that time they have not increaſed above a ſixth, it muſt be attributed to a pretty conſiderable emigration occaſioned by the arrival of the blacks.

THE firſt of theſe ſlaves were brought into Virginia by a Dutch ſhip in 1621. Their number was not conſiderable at firſt, but the increaſe of them has been ſo prodigious ſince the beginning of this century, that there are at preſent 110,000 negroes in the colony; which occaſions a double loſs to mankind, firſt in exhauſting the population of Africa, and ſecondly in preventing that of the Europeans in America.

VIRGINIA has neither fortified places nor regular troops; they would be uſeleſs in a province, which from its ſituation and the nature of its productions, is protected both from foreign invaſions, and the incurſions of the ſavages wandering about this vaſt continent, who have long been too weak to attack it. The militia, which is compoſed of all the free-men from ſixteen to ſixty years of age, is ſufficient to keep the ſlaves in order. Every county reviews all its troops once, and the ſeparate companies three or four times a year. Upon the leaſt alarm, given in any particular part of the country, all the forces in it march. If they are out more than two days, they receive pay; if not, it is reckoned a part of their ſtated ſervice. Such is the government of Virginia, and ſuch is very nearly that of Maryland; which, after having been included in this colony, was ſeparated from it for reaſons which muſt be explained.

Maryland is detached from Virginia.

CHARLES the firſt, far from having any averſion for the catholics, had ſome reaſon to protect them, from the zeal, which, in hopes of being tolerated, they had ſhewn for his intereſt. But when the accuſation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whoſe chief aim was to eſtabliſh

BOOK XVIII.

a deſpotic government, he was obliged to give the catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted againſt them by Henry the eighth. Theſe circumſtances induced lord Baltimore to ſeek an aſylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conſcience. As he found there no toleration for an excluſive faith, which was itſelf intolerant, he formed the deſign of a new ſettlement in that uninhabited part of the country, which lay between the river of Potowmack and Penſylvania. His death, which happened ſoon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a ſtop to the project for that time, but it was reſumed from the ſame religious motives by his ſon. This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hundred Roman catholics, moſt of them of good families. The education they had received, the cauſe of religion for which they left their country, and the fortune which their leader promiſed them, prevented thoſe diſturbances which are but too common in infant ſettlements. The neighbouring ſavages, prevailed upon by mildneſs and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerneſs to aſſiſt the new coloniſts in forming their ſettlement. With this unexpected help theſe fortunate perſons, attached to each other by the ſame principles of religion, and directed by the prudent councils of their chief, applied themſelves unanimouſly to every kind of uſeful labour: the view of the peace and happineſs they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were either perſecuted for the ſame religion, or for different opinions.

The catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themſelves had been the victims after having firſt ſet the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all ſects of what religious principles ſoever. Baltimore alſo granted the

moſt

moſt extenſive civil liberty to every ſtranger who choſe to purchaſe lands in his new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the mother country.

THESE wiſe and generous precautions, however, did not ſecure the governor, at the time of the ſubverſion of the monarchy, from loſing all the rights and conceſſions that he had obtained. Deprived of his poſſeſſions by Cromwell, he was reſtored to them by Charles the ſecond; after which they were again diſputed with him. Though he was perfectly clear from any reproach of maladminiſtration; and though he was extremely zealous for the Tramontane doctrines, and much attached to the intereſts of the Stuarts; yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James the ſecond; and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the juriſdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himſelf had peopled. This prince, whoſe misfortune it had always been never to have known his friends from his foes; and who had alſo the ridiculous pride to think that regal authority was ſufficient to juſtify every act of violence, was preparing a ſecond time to deprive Baltimore, of what had been given him by the two kings, his father and his brother; when he was himſelf removed from the throne which he filled ſo ill. The ſucceſſor of this weak deſpotic prince terminated this conteſt, which had ariſen before his acceſſion to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character. He left the Baltimores in poſſeſſion of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority, which, however, they likewiſe recovered upon becoming members of the church of England.

THE province is at preſent divided into eleven counties, and inhabited by 40,000 white men and 60,000 blacks. It is governed by a chief, who is named by the

BOOK XVIII.

proprietor, and by a council and two deputies chosen in each county. The governor, like the king in the other colonies, has a negative voice in all acts proposed by the assembly, that is to say, the right of rejecting them.

Virginia and Maryland cultivate the same productions.

If Maryland were re-united to Virginia, as their common interest seems to require, no difference could be found between the two settlements. They are situated between Pensylvania and Carolina, and occupy the great space that extends from the sea to the Apalachian mountains. The air, which is damp on the coast, becomes light, pure and subtle, as one approaches the mountains. The spring and autumn months are of an excellent temperature, in summer there are some days excessively hot, and in winter some extremely cold; but neither of these excesses lasts above a week at a time. The most disagreeable circumstance in the climate is the abundance of nauseous insects that are found there.

All the domestic animals multiply prodigiously; and all sorts of fruits, trees and vegetables succeed there extremely well. There is the best corn in all America. The soil, which is rich and fertile in the low lands, is always good, even in those places where it becomes sandy; more irregular than it is described by some travellers, but tolerably even till one comes near the mountains.

From these reservoirs an incredible number of rivers flow, most of which are separated only by an interval of five or six miles. Besides the fertility which these waters impart to the country they pass through, they also make it infinitely more convenient for trade than any other part of the new world, from facilitating the communications.

Most of these rivers have a very extensive inland navigation for merchant ships, and some of them for men of war. One may go near two hundred miles up the Potowmack, above eighty up the James, the York, and the

the Rapahannock, and upon the other rivers to a diſtance that varies according as the cataracts are more or leſs diſtant from their mouths. All theſe navigable canals, formed by nature, meet in the bay of Cheſapeak, which has from ſeven to nine fathom water both at its entrance and in its whole extent. It reaches above two hundred miles in the inland parts of the country, and is about twelve miles in its mean breadth. Though it is full of ſmall iſlands, moſt of them covered with wood, it is by no means dangerous, and ſo large that all the ſhips in the univerſe might ride there with eaſe.

So uncommon an advantage has prevented the formation of any large towns in the two colonies, and accordingly the inhabitants who were aſſured that the ſhips would come up to their warehouſes, and that they might embark their commodities without going from their own houſes, have diſperſed themſelves upon the borders of the ſeveral rivers. In this ſituation, they found all the pleaſures of a rural life, united to all the eaſe that trade brings into cities; they found the facility of extending their cultivation in a country that had no bounds, united to all the aſſiſtance which the fertilization of the lands receives from commerce. But the mother country ſuffered a double inconvenience from this diſperſion of the coloniſts; firſt, becauſe her ſailors were longer abſent, from being obliged to collect their cargoes from theſe ſcattered habitations; and ſecondly, becauſe their ſhips are expoſed to injury from thoſe dangerous inſects, which in the months of June and July infeſt all the rivers of this diſtant region. The miniſtry has therefore neglected no means of engaging the coloniſts to eſtabliſh ſtaples for the reception of their commodities. The conſtraint of the laws has not had more effect than perſuaſion. At length, a few years ago, forts were ordered to be built at the en-

BOOK XVIII.

trance of every river, to protect the loading and unloading of the ships. If this project had not failed in the execution from the want of a sufficient fund, it is probable that the inhabitants would have collected imperceptibly round each of these fortresses. But it may still be question whether this circumstance would not have proved fatal to population; and whether agriculture might not have lost as much as commerce would have gained by it.

Be this as it may, it is certain that there are but two towns at present of any kind of note in the two colonies. Even those which are the seat of government are of no great importance. Williamsburgh, the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis that of Maryland, the first risen upon the ruins of James town, the other upon those of St. Mary, are neither of them superior to one of our common villages.

As in all human affairs, every good is attended with some kind of evil, so it has happened, that the increase of habitations by retarding the population of towns, has prevented any artists or manufacturers from being formed in either of the provinces. With all the materials necessary to supply them with most of their wants, and even with several of their conveniences, they are still obliged to draw from Europe their cloths, linens, hats, hardware, and even furniture of the most ordinary kind.

These numerous and general expences have exhausted the inhabitants; besides which they have vied with each other in displaying every kind of luxury before all the English merchants, who visit their plantations from motives of commercial interest. By these means, they have run so much in debt with the mother country, that many of them have been obliged to sell their lands; or, in order still to keep possession of them, to mortgage them at an usurious interest of eight or nine per cent.

It

It will be no eaſy matter for the two provinces ever to emerge from this deſperate ſtate. Their navy does not amount to above a thouſand tons, and all they ſend to the Caribbee iſlands in corn, cattle and planks; all they expedite for Europe in hemp, flax, leather, peltry and walnut-tree or cedar-wood, does not bring them a return of more than a million.(s) The only reſource they have left is in tobacco.

Tobacco is a ſharp, cauſtic and even venomous plant, which has been formerly of great repute, and is ſtill uſed in medicine. Every body is acquainted with the general conſumption made of it, by chewing, ſmoaking or taking ſnuff. It was diſcovered in the year 1520 by the Spaniards, who found it firſt in the Jucatan, a large peninſula in the gulph of Mexico, from whence it was carried into the neighbouring iſlands. Soon after, the uſe of it became a matter of diſpute among the learned, which the ignorant alſo took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired ſome reputation. By degrees faſhion and cuſtom have greatly extended its conſumption in all parts of the known world. It is at preſent cultivated with more or leſs ſucceſs in Europe, Aſia, Africa and ſeveral parts of America.

The ſtem of this plant is ſtraight, hairy and viſcous; and its leaves are thick, flabby, and of a pale green colour. They are larger at the bottom than at the ſummit of the plant. It requires a ſoil of a good conſiſtence, but rich, even and deep, and not too much expoſed to inundations. A virgin ſoil is very fit for this vegetable, which requires a great deal of ſap.

The ſeeds of the tobacco are ſown in layers. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got, at leaſt, half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in

(s) 43,750l.

BOOK XVIII.

damp weather, and tranſplanted with great care into a well-prepared ſoil, where the plants are placed at the diſtance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with theſe precautions, their leaves do not ſuffer the leaſt injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four and twenty hours.

The cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which gather about it muſt be plucked up; the head of it muſt be cut off when it is the ſize of two feet and a half, to prevent it from growing too high; it muſt be ſtripped of all ſprouting ſuckers; the leaves which grow too low down upon the ſtem, thoſe that are in the leaſt inclined to decay, and thoſe which the inſects have touched, muſt all be removed, and their number reduced to eight or ten at moſt. A ſingle induſtrious man is able to take care of two thouſand, five hundred plants, which ought to yield one thouſand weight of tobacco. It is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleaſant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are alſo curved, and the ſmell they exhale is increaſed, and extends to a greater diſtance. The plant is then ripe and muſt be cut.

The plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the ſame ground that produced them, where they are left to exſude only for one night. The next day they are laid up in warehouſes, conſtructed in ſuch a manner, that the air may have a free acceſs to them on all ſides. Here they are left ſeparately ſuſpended as long a time as is neceſſary to dry them well. They are then ſpread upon hurdles and well covered over, where they ferment for a week or two. At laſt they are ſtripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary

ac-

according to the different taſtes of the ſeveral nations that uſe it, have nothing to do with its cultivation.

Of all the countries in which tobacco has been planted, there is none where it has anſwered ſo well as in Maryland and Virginia. As it was the only occupation of the firſt planters, they often cultivated much more than they could find a ſale for. They were then obliged to ſtop the growth of the plantations in Virginia, and to burn a certain number of plants in every habitation throughout Maryland. But in proceſs of time the uſes of this herb became ſo general that they have been obliged to increaſe the number both of the whites and blacks who are employed in preparing it. At preſent each of the provinces furniſhes nearly an equal quantity. That from Virginia, which is the mildeſt, the moſt perfumed, and the deareſt, is conſumed in England and in the ſouthern parts of Europe. That of Maryland is fitter for the northern climates, from it cheapneſs, and even from its coarſeneſs, which makes it better adapted to leſs delicate organs.

As navigation has not yet made the ſame progreſs in theſe provinces, as in the reſt of North-America, the tobacco is commonly tranſported in the ſhips of the mother country. They are very often three, four, and even ſix months in completing their cargo. This delay ariſes from ſeveral very evident cauſes. Firſt, as there are no magazines or general receptacles for the tobacco, it is neceſſary to go and fetch it from the ſeveral plantations. Secondly, few planters are able to load a whole ſhip if they would, and if they were, they would not chuſe to venture their whole upon one bottom. In ſhort, as the price of the freight is fixed, and is always the ſame, whether the articles are ready for embarkation or not, the planters wait till they are preſſed by the captains themſelves

BOOK XVIII.

selves to hasten the exportation. All these several reasons are the cause why vessels only of a moderate size are generally employed upon this service. The larger they would be, the longer time they would be detained in America.

VIRGINIA always pays forty-five livres(t) freight for every barrel of tobacco, and Maryland only 39 livres, 5 sols, 6 deniers.(u) This difference is owing to the less value of the merchandise, and to the greater expedition made in loading it. The English merchant loses by the carriage; but it is made up to him by the commissions. As he is always employed in all the sales and purchases made for the colonists, he is amply compensated for his losses and his trouble, by an allowance of five per cent. upon these commissions.

THIS navigation employs two hundred and fifty ships, which make up in all 30,000 tons. They take in a hundred thousand barrels of tobacco from the two colonies, which, at the rate of eight hundred pounds a barrel, make eighty millions of pounds weight. That part of the commodity which grows between York and James rivers, and in some other places, is extremely dear; but the whole taken upon an average sells only for four sols, three deniers(x) a pound in England, which makes in all 16,875,000 livres.(y) Besides the advantage it is of to England to exchange its manufactures to the amount of this sum, it gains another by the re-exportation of four fifths of the tobacco. This alone is an object of 10,125,000 livres,(z) besides what is to be reckoned for freight and commission.

THE custom-house duties are a still more considerable object to government. There is a tax of 11 sols, 10 de-

(t) 1*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* halfpenny. (u) 1*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* farthing.
(x) Not 2*d.* farthing. (y) 738,281*l.* 5*s.* (z) 442,968*l.* 15*s.*

deniers and a half (*a*) upon every pound of tobacco that enters the kingdom; this, ſuppoſing the whole eighty millions of pounds imported to remain in it, would bring the ſtate 47,499,997 livres, 10 ſols; (*b*) but as four fifths are re-exported, and all the duties are remitted upon that portion, the public revenue gains only 19,000,000 livres, 2 ſols, 7 deniers. (*c*) Experience teaches that a third of this muſt be deducted for prompt payment of what the merchant has a right to be eighteen months in paying, and to allow for the ſmuggling that is carried on in the ſmall ports as well as in the large ones. This deduction will amount to 6,333,351 livres, 18 ſols, 6 deniers, (*d*) and there will conſequently remain for government no more than 12,666,715 livres, 17 ſols, 6 deniers. (*e*)

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe laſt abuſes, Virginia and Maryland are much more advantageous to Great Britain than the other northern colonies, more ſo even than Carolina.

Origin of Carolina.

CAROLINA extends three hundred miles along the coaſt, which is two hundred miles broad, as far as the Apalachian mountains. It was diſcovered by the Spaniards, ſoon after the firſt expeditions in the new world; but as they found no gold there to ſatisfy their avarice, they deſpiſed it. Admiral Coligny, with more prudence and ability, opened an aſylum there to the induſtry of the French proteſtants; but the fanaticiſm that purſued them ſoon deſtroyed all their hopes, which were totally loſt in the murder of that juſt, humane and enlightened man. Some Engliſh ſucceeded them towards the end of the 16th century: who, by an unaccountable caprice, were induced to abandon this fertile ſoil, in order to go and cultivate

(*a*) About 6*d.* farthing. (*b*) 2,078,124*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* 3 farthings. (*c*) 831,250*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.* farthing. (*d*) 277,084*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* farthing. (*e*) 554,168*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* halfpenny.

BOOK XVIII.

tivate a more ungrateful land, and in a leſs agreeable climate.

System of religious and civil government eſtabliſhed by Locke in Carolina.

THERE was not a ſingle European remaining in Carolina, when the lords Berkeley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven and Aſhley; Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley and Sir William Colleton obtained from Charles the ſecond in 1663 a grant of that fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was laid down by the famous Locke. A philoſopher, who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and juſtice which ought to be the rule of their actions, could not find better means to oppoſe the prevalence of fanaticiſm, than by an unlimited toleration in matters of religion; but not daring openly to attack the prejudices of his time, which were as much the effect of the virtues as of the crimes of the age, he endeavoured, at leaſt, to reconcile them, if poſſible, with a principle of reaſon and humanity. The wild inhabitants of America, ſaid he, have no idea of a revelation; it would, therefore, be the height of extravagance to make them ſuffer for their ignorance. The different ſects of chriſtians, who might come to people the colony, would, without doubt, expect a liberty of conſcience there, which prieſts and princes refuſe them in Europe: nor ſhould Jews or Pagans be rejected on account of a blindneſs, which lenity and perſuaſion might contribute to remove. Such was the reaſoning of Mr. Locke with men prejudiced and influenced by opinions, which no one hitherto had taken the liberty to call in queſtion. Diſguſted with the troubles and misfortunes which the different ſyſtems of religion had given birth to in Europe, they readily acquieſced in the arguments he propoſed to them. They admitted toleration in the ſame manner as intolerance is received, without examining into the merits of it. The only reſtriction laid upon this

ſaving

saving principle was, that every person, claiming the protection of that settlement, should at the age of seventeen register themselves in some particular communion. BOOK XVIII.

The English philosopher was not so favourable to civil liberty. Whether it were, that those, who had fixed upon him to trace out a plan of government, had restrained his views, as will be the case with every writer, who employs his pen for great men, or ministers; or whether Locke, being more of a metaphysician than a statesman, pursued philosophy only in those tracts which had been opened by Descartes and Leibnitz; the same man, who had dissipated and destroyed so many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the path of legislation. The author of a work, whose continuance will render the glory of the French nation immortal, even when tyranny shall have broken all the springs, and all the monuments of the genius, and merit of a people esteemed by the whole world for so many amiable and brilliant qualities; even Montesquieu himself did not perceive that he was making men for governments, instead of making governments for men.

The code of Carolina, by a singularity not to be accounted for in an Englishman and a philosopher, gave to the eight proprietors, who founded the settlement and to their heirs, not only all the rights of a monarch, but likewise all the powers of legislation.

The court, which was composed of this sovereign body, and was called, the Palatine Court, was invested with the right of nominating to all employments and dignities, and even with that of conferring nobility; but under new and unprecedented titles. For instance, they were to create, in each county, two Caciques, each of whom was to be possessed of twenty-four thousand acres

BOOK XVIII.

acres of land; and a Landgrave, who was to be poſſeſſed of fourſcore thouſand. The perſons, on whom theſe honours ſhould be beſtowed, were to compoſe the upper houſe; and their poſſeſſions were made unalienable; a circumſtance totally inconſiſtent with good policy. They had only the right of farming or letting out a third part of them at the moſt for the continuance of three lives.

The lower houſe was formed of the deputies from the ſeveral counties and towns. The number of this repreſentative body was to be increaſed in proportion as the colony grew more populous. No tenant was to pay more than one livre, two ſols and ſix deniers (*f*) per acre; and even this rent was redeemable. All the inhabitants, however, both ſlaves and freemen, were under an obligation to take arms upon the firſt order they ſhould receive from the Palatine Court.

It was not long before the faults of a conſtitution, in which the powers of the ſtate were ſo unequally divided, began to diſcover themſelves. The proprietary lords, influenced by deſpotic principles, uſed every endeavour to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government. On the other hand, the coloniſts, who were not ignorant of the general right of mankind, exerted themſelves with equal zeal to avoid ſervitude. From this ſtruggle of oppoſite intereſts aroſe an inevitable confuſion, which put a ſtop to every uſeful effort of induſtry. The whole province, diſtracted with quarrels, diſſentions and tumults, was rendered incapable of making any progreſs, whatever improvements had been expected from the peculiar advantages of its ſituation.

Nor were theſe evils ſufficient: new ones aroſe, as if a remedy could only be attained from an exceſs of grievances. Granville, who, as the oldeſt of the proprietors, was in

(*f*) About a ſhilling.

in 1705 sole governor of the colony, formed the resolution of obliging all the non-conformists, who made up two thirds of the people, to embrace the forms of worship established in England. This act of violence, though disavowed, and rejected by the mother country, inflamed the minds of the people. In 1720, while this animosity was still prevailing, the province was attacked by several bands of savages, driven to despair by a continued course of the most atrocious insolence and injustice. Those unfortunate wretches were all conquered and all put to the sword: but the courage and vigour, which this war revived in the breasts of the colonists, was the prelude to the fall of their oppressors. Those tyrants having refused to contribute to the expences of an expedition, the immediate benefits of which they claimed to themselves, were all, excepting Carteret, who still preserved one eighth of the country, stripped in 1728 of their prerogatives, which they had only known how to make an ill use of. They received however 540,000 livres (g) by way of compensation. From this time, the crown resumed the government, and in order to give the colony a foretaste of its moderation, bestowed on it the same constitution as on others. It was further divided into two separate governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the administration of it. It is from this happy period, that the prosperity of this great province is to be dated.

Climate and produce of Carolina.

There is not, perhaps, throughout the new world a climate to be compared with that of Carolina. The two seasons of the year, which, for the most part, only moderate the excesses of the two others, are here delightful. The heats of the summer are not excessive; and the cold of the winter is only felt in the mornings and evenings.

(g) 23,625*l.*

BOOK XVIII.

ings. The fogs, which are always common upon a coaſt of any length, are diſperſed before the middle of the day. But on the other hand, here, as well as in every other part almoſt of America, the inhabitants are ſubject to ſuch ſudden and violent changes of weather, as oblige them to obſerve a regularity in their diet and cloathing, which would be unneceſſary in a more ſettled climate. Another inconvenience, peculiar to this tract of the northern continent, is that of being tormented with hurricanes; but theſe are leſs frequent and leſs violent than in the iſlands.

A vaſt, melancholy, uniform, unvaried plain extends from the ſea-ſhore fourſcore or a hundred miles within land. From this diſtance the country, beginning to riſe, affords a more pleaſing proſpect, a purer and dryer air. This part, before the arrival of the Engliſh, was covered with one immenſe foreſt, reaching as far as the Apalachian mountains. It conſiſted of large trees growing, as nature had caſt them, without order or deſign, at unequal diſtances, and not encumbered with underwood: by which means more land could be cleared here in a week, than in ſeveral months, among us.

THE ſoil of Carolina is very various. On the coaſt and about the mouths of the rivers, which fall into the ſea, it is either covered with impracticable and unhealthful moraſſes, or made up of a pale, light, ſandy earth, which produces nothing. In one part it is barren to an extreme; in another, among the numberleſs ſtreams that divide the country, it is exceſſively fruitful. At a diſtance from the coaſts, there are found ſometimes large waſtes of white ſand, which produce nothing but pines; at others there are lands, where the oak and the wallnut-tree announce fertility. Theſe alternatives and variations ceaſe,

ceaſe, when you get into the inland parts; and the country every where is agreeable and rich. BOOK XVIII.

ADMIRABLY adapted as theſe ſpots are for the purpoſes of cultivation, the province does not want others equally favourable for the breeding of cattle. Thouſands of horned cattle are raiſed here, which go out in the morning without a herdſman to feed in the woods, and return home at night of their own accord. Their hogs, which are ſuffered to fatten themſelves in the ſame manner, are ſtill more numerous and much better in their kind. But mutton degenerates there both in fleſh and wool. For this reaſon, it is leſs common.

IN 1723, the whole colony conſiſted of no more than four thouſand white people, and thirty-two thouſand blacks. Its exportations to other parts of America and to Europe did not exceed 4,950,000 livres.(*b*) Since that time it hath acquired a degree of ſplendour, which it owes entirely to the enjoyment of liberty.

SOUTH CAROLINA, though it hath ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing a conſiderable barter trade with the ſavages, hath gained a manufacture of linens by means of the French refugees, and invented a new kind of ſtuff by mixing the ſilk it produces with its wool; yet is its progreſs principally to be attributed to the produce of rice and indigo.

THE firſt of theſe articles was brought there by an accident. A ſhip, on its return from India, ran aground on this coaſt. It was laden with rice, which, being toſſed on ſhore by the waves, grew up again. This unexpected good fortune led them to try the cultivation of a commodity, which the ſoil ſeemed of itſelf to require. For a long time little progreſs was made in it; becauſe the coloniſts being obliged to ſend their crops to the mo-

(*b*) 216,562*l.* 10*s.*

BOOK XVIII.

ther country, from whence they were ſhipped again for Spain and Portugal, where the conſumption was, ſold them at ſo low a price, that it ſcarce anſwered the expences of cultivation. Since 1730, when a more enlightened miniſtry gave them permiſſion to export and ſell their grain themſelves at foreign markets, an increaſe of profit has produced an additional growth of the commodity. The quantity is at preſent greatly augmented and may be ſtill more; but whether ſo much to the benefit of the colony is doubtful. Of all productions rice is the moſt detrimental to the ſalubrity of the climate; at leaſt, it hath been eſteemed ſo in the Milaneſe, where the peaſants on the rice-grounds are all of them ſallow complectioned and dropſical; and in France, where that article hath been totally prohibited. Egypt had, without doubt, its precautions againſt the ill effects of a grain in other reſpects ſo nutritious. China muſt alſo have its preſervatives, which art ſets up againſt nature, whoſe favours are ſometimes attended with pernicious conſequences. Perhaps, alſo, under the torrid zone, where rice grows in the greateſt abundance, the heat, which makes it flouriſh in the midſt of water, quickly diſperſes the moiſt and noxious vapours, that exhale from the rice-fields. But if the cultivation of rice ſhould one day come to be neglected in Carolina, that of indigo will make ample amends for it.

THIS plant, which is a native of Indoſtan, was firſt brought to perfection in Mexico, and the Leeward iſlands. It was tried later and with leſs ſucceſs in South-Carolina. This principal ingredient in dying is there of ſo inferior a quality, that it is ſcarce ſold at half the price it bears in other places. Yet thoſe, who cultivate it, do not deſpair, in time, of ſupplanting both the Spaniards and French at every market. The goodneſs of their climate, the

the extent of their lands, the plenty and cheapneſs of their proviſions, the opportunities they have of ſupplying themſelves with utenſils, and of procuring ſlaves; every thing, in ſhort, flatters their expectation: and the ſame hope has always extended itſelf to the inhabitants of North-Carolina. BOOK XVIII.

It is well known that this country was the firſt on the continent of the new world, on which the Engliſh landed; for here is the bay of Roanoak, which Raleigh took poſſeſſion of in 1585. A total emigration, in a ſhort time, left it deſtitute of coloniſts; nor did it begin to be repeopled, even when large ſettlements were eſtabliſhed in the neighbouring countries. We cannot otherwiſe account for this dereliction, than from the obſtacles which trading veſſels had to encounter in this beautiful region. None of its rivers are deep enough to admit ſhips of more than ſeventy or eighty tons. Thoſe of greater burthen are forced to anchor between the continent and ſome adjacent iſlands. The tenders which are employed in lading and unlading them augment the expence and trouble both of their exports and imports.

From this circumſtance, probably, it was, that North-Carolina in the beginning was inhabited only by a ſet of wretches without name, laws, or profeſſion. In proportion as the lands in the neighbouring colonies grew more ſcarce, thoſe, who were not able to purchaſe them, betook themſelves to a country where they could get lands without purchaſe. Refugees of other kinds availed themſelves of the ſame reſource. Order and property became eſtabliſhed at the ſame time; and this colony, with fewer advantages than South-Carolina, obtained a greater number of European ſettlers.

The firſt people, whom chance diſperſed along theſe ſavage coaſts, confined themſelves to the breeding of

BOOK XVIII.

cattle, and cutting wood, which were taken off their hands by the merchants of New-England. In a ſhort time they contrived to make the pine-tree produce them turpentine, tar, and pitch. For the turpentine they had nothing to do but to make two ſlits in the trunk of the tree, about a foot in length, at the bottom of which they placed veſſels to receive it. When they wanted tar, they raiſed a circular platform of potter's earth, on which they laid piles of pine-wood: to theſe they ſet fire and the reſin diſtilled from them into caſks placed underneath. The tar was converted into pitch, either in great iron pots, in which they boiled it, or in pits formed of potter's earth, into which it was poured while in a fluid ſtate. This labour, however, was not ſufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants: they then proceeded to grow corn; and for a long time were contented with maize, as their neighbours in South-Carolina were obliged to be, where the wheat being ſubject to mildew, and to exhauſt itſelf in ſtraw, never throve. But ſeveral experiments having proved to the North-Carolinians that they were not liable to the ſame inconvenience, they ſucceeded ſo far in the cultivation of that grain, that they were even able to ſupply a conſiderable exportation. Rice and indigo have been but lately introduced into this province to join the harveſts of Africa and Aſia to thoſe of Europe. The cultivation of them is but yet in its infancy.

THERE is ſcarce one twentieth part of the territory belonging to the two Carolinas that is cleared; and, at this time, the only cultivated ſpots are thoſe, which are the moſt ſandy and the neareſt to the ſea. The reaſon, why the coloniſts have not ſettled further back in the country is, that of ten navigable rivers, there is not one that will admit ſhipping higher than ſixty miles. This in-

inconvenience is not to be remedied but by making roads or canals; and works of that kind require so many hands, and so much expence and knowledge, that the hopes of such an improvement are still very distant.

NEITHER of the colonies, however, have reason to complain of their lot. The imposts, which are all levied on the exportation and importation of merchandise, do not exceed 135,000 livres. (i) The paper-currency of North-Carolina does not amount to more than 1,125,000 livres; (k) and that of South-Carolina, which is infinitely more wealthy, is only 5,625,000. (l) Neither of them are in debt to the mother country; and this advantage, which is not common even in the English colonies, they derive from the great amount of their exportations to the neighbouring provinces, the Leeward islands and to Europe.

IN 1754, there were exported from South Carolina, seven hundred and fifty-nine barrels of turpentine, two thousand, nine hundred and forty-three of tar; five thousand, eight hundred and sixty-nine of pitch or rosin; four hundred and sixteen barrels of beef; fifteen hundred and sixty of pork; sixteen thousand four hundred bushels of Indian corn; and nine thousand, one hundred and sixty-two of peas; four thousand, one hundred and eighty tanned hides, and twelve hundred in the hair; one million, one hundred and forty thousand planks; two hundred and six thousand joists; and three hundred and eighty-five thousand feet of timber; eight hundred and eighty-two hogsheads of wild deer-skins; one hundred and four thousand, six hundred and eighty-two barrels of rice; two hundred and sixteen thousand, nine hundred and eighty-four pounds of indigo.

IN the same year North Carolina exported sixty-one thousand, five hundred and twenty-eight barrels of tar;

(i) 5,906l. 5s. (k) 49,118l. 15s. (l) 246,093l. 15s.

BOOK XVIII.

twelve thouſand and fifty-five of pitch; and ten thouſand, four hundred and twenty-nine of turpentine; ſeven hundred and ſixty-two thouſand, three hundred and thirty planks; and two thouſand ſix hundred and forty-ſeven feet of timber; ſixty-one thouſand, five hundred buſhels of wheat, and ten thouſand of peas; three thouſand, three hundred barrels of beef and pork; one hundred hogſheads of tobacco; ten thouſand hundred-weight of tanned hides, and thirty thouſand ſkins of different kinds.

In the above account, there is not a ſingle article that has not been conſiderably increaſed ſince that time. Several of them have been doubled, and the moſt valuable of all, the indigo, has increaſed to three times the quantity.

Some productions of North Carolina are exported to Europe and the Caribbees, though there is no ſtaple town to receive them; and that Edinton, the ancient capital of the province, as well as that which hath been built in lieu of it upon the river Neus, can ſcarce be conſidered as ſmall villages. The largeſt and moſt valuable part of its exports is conveyed to Charles-town to increaſe the riches of South Carolina.

This town lies between the two navigable rivers, Cooper and Aſhley; ſurrounded by the moſt beautiful plantations of the colony, of which it is the center and the capital. It is well built, interſected with ſeveral agreeable ſtreets, and its fortifications are tolerably regular. The large fortunes that have been made there from the acceſſion and circulation of its trade, muſt neceſſarily have had ſome influence upon the manners of the people: of all the towns in North America, it is the one in which the conveniencies of luxury are moſt to be met with. But the diſadvantage its road labours under, of not being able

able to admit of ships of above two hundred tons, will make it lose its present splendor. It will be deserted for Port Royal, which admits vessels of all kinds into its harbour, and in great numbers. A settlement has already been formed there, which is continually increasing, and may most probably meet with the greatest success. Besides the production of North and South Carolina, that will naturally come to its market, it will also receive those of Georgia, a colony that has been lately established near it. BOOK XVIII.

Foundation of Georgia.

CAROLINA and Spanish Florida are separated from each other by a great tract of land which extends one hundred and twenty miles upon the sea coast, and three hundred miles from thence to the Apalachian mountains, and whose boundaries to the north and south are the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha. The English ministry had been long desirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was considered as dependent upon Carolina. One of those instances of benevolence which liberty the source of every patriotic virtue renders more frequent in England than in any other country, served to determine the views of government, with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his estate to set at liberty such insolvent debtors as were detained in prison by their creditors. Prudential reasons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that such unhappy prisoners, as were released, should be transplanted into that desert country, that was now intended to be peopled; it was named Georgia in honour of the reigning sovereign.

THIS instance of respect, the more pleasing, as it was not the effect of flattery; the execution of a design of so much real advantage to the state, were entirely the work

BOOK XVIII.

of the nation. The parliament added 225,000 livres(*m*) to the eſtate left by the will of the citizen; and a voluntary ſubſcription produced a much more conſiderable ſum. General Oglethorpe, a man, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of commons by his taſte for great deſigns, by his zeal for his country, and his paſſion for glory, was fixed upon to direct theſe public finances, and to carry into execution ſo excellent a project. Deſirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he choſe to conduct himſelf the firſt coloniſts that were to be ſent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a ſpot at ten miles diſtance from the ſea, in an agreeable and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah. This riſing ſettlement was called Savannah from the name of the river; and inconſiderable as it was in its infant ſtate, was, however, to become the capital of a flouriſhing colony. It conſiſted at firſt of no more than one hundred perſons, but before the end of the year the number was increaſed to 618; 127 of whom had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men, and 113 women, 102 lads, and 83 girls, formed the beginning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous poſterity.

THIS ſettlement was increaſed in 1735 by the arrival of ſome Scotch highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an eſtabliſhment offered them upon the borders of the Alatamaha, to defend the colony, if neceſſary, againſt the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the towns of Darien and Frederica, and ſeveral of their countrymen came over to ſettle among them.

IN the ſame year, a great number of proteſtants driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical prieſt, embarked for Georgia

(*m*) 9,843*l.* 15*s.*

Georgia to enjoy peace and liberty of conſcience. At first they ſettled on a ſpot ſituated juſt above that of the infant colony; but they afterwards choſe to be at a greater diſtance, and to go as far down as the mouth of the Savannah, where they built a town called Ebenezer. BOOK XVIII.

Some Switzers followed the example of theſe wiſe Saltzburghers, though they had not, like them, been perſecuted. They alſo ſettled on the banks of the Savannah; but at the diſtance of four and thirty miles from the Germans. Their colony, conſiſting of a hundred habitations, was named Puryſburgh, from Pury their founder, who having been at the expence of their ſettlement, was deſervedly choſen their chief, in teſtimony of their gratitude to him.

In theſe four or five colonies, ſome men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. Theſe, therefore, ſeparated from the reſt in order to build the city Auguſta, two hundred and thirty-ſix miles diſtant from the ocean. The goodneſs of the ſoil, though excellent in itſelf, was not the motive of their fixing upon this ſituation; but the facility it afforded them of carrying on the peltry trade with the ſavages. Their project was ſo ſucceſsful, that as early as the year 1739, ſix hundred people were employed in this commerce. The ſale of theſe ſkins was with much greater facility carried on, from the circumſtance of the Savannah admitting the largeſt ſhips to ſail upon it as far as the walls of Auguſta.

The mother country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony, where ſhe had ſent near five thouſand men, and laid out 1,485,000 livres,(n) independent of the voluntary contributions that had been raiſed by zealous patriots. But to her great ſurpriſe,

(n) 64,968l. 15s.

BOOK XVIII.

priſe, ſhe received information in 1741, that there remained ſcarce a ſixth part of that numerous colony ſent to Georgia; who being now totally diſcouraged, ſeemed only deſirous to fix in a more favorable ſituation. The reaſons of theſe calamities were inquired into and diſcovered.

Impediments that have prevented the progreſs of Georgia.

THIS colony, even in its infancy, brought with it the ſeeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent ſcheme; but nations as well as individuals do not learn inſtruction from paſt miſconduct. An enlightened government, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard againſt every miſuſe of its confidence. The Engliſh miniſtry, though zealouſly attached to the common welfare, ſacrificed the public intereſt to the rapacious views of intereſted individuals.

THE firſt uſe that the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were inveſted with, was to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of legiſlation, that made them entirely maſters not only of the police, juſtice and finances of the country, but even of the lives and eſtates of its inhabitants. Every ſpecies of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original poſſeſſors of them all. Obedience was required of the people, though contrary to their intereſt and knowledge; and it was conſidered here, as in other countries, as their duty and their fate.

As great inconveniences had been found to ariſe in other colonies from large poſſeſſions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land; which they were not permitted to mortgage, or even to diſpoſe of by will to their female iſſue. This laſt regulation of making only the male iſſue capable of inheritance,

ritance, was ſoon aboliſhed; but there ſtill remained too many obſtacles to excite a ſpirit of emulation. It ſeldom happens, that a man reſolves to leave his country but upon the proſpect of ſome great advantage that works ſtrongly upon his imagination. Whatever limits are preſcribed to his induſtry, are, therefore, ſo many checks which prevent him from engaging in any project. The boundaries aſſigned to every plantation muſt neceſſarily have produced this bad effect. Several other errors ſtill affected the original plan of this colony, which prevented its increaſe.

The taxes impoſed upon the moſt fertile of the Engliſh colonies, are very inconſiderable, and even theſe are not levied till the ſettlements have acquired ſome degree of vigour and proſperity. From its infant ſtate, Georgia had been ſubjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been as it were fettered. The revenues raiſed by this kind of ſervice increaſed prodigiouſly, in proportion as the colony extended itſelf. The founders of it, blinded by a ſpirit of avidity, did not perceive that the ſmalleſt duty impoſed upon the trade of a populous and flouriſhing province, would much ſooner enrich them than the largeſt fines laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this ſpecies of oppreſſion was added another, which however incredible it may appear, might ariſe from a ſpirit of benevolence. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the uſe of ſlaves. Carolina and ſome other colonies having been eſtabliſhed without their aſſiſtance, it was thought that a country deſtined to be the bulwark of thoſe American poſſeſſions, ought not to be peopled by a ſet of ſlaves, who could not be in the leaſt intereſted in the defence of their oppreſſions. But it was not at the ſame time foreſeen, that coloniſts, who were leſs favoured by the mother country, than their neighbours, who

BOOK XVIII.

who were ſituated in a country leſs ſuſceptible of tillage and in a hotter climate, would want ſtrength and ſpirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement.

THE indolence which ſo many obſtacles gave riſe to, found a further excuſe, in another prohibition that had been impoſed. The diſturbances produced by the uſe of ſpirituous liquors over all the continent of North America, induced the founders of Georgia to forbid the importation of Rum. This prohibition, though well intended, deprived the coloniſts of the only liquor that could correct the bad qualities of the waters of the country, that were generally unwholeſome; and of the only means they had to reſtore the waſte of ſtrength and ſpirits that muſt be the conſequence of inceſſant labour. Beſides this it prevented their commerce with the Antilles, as they could not go thither to barter their wood, corn and cattle that ought to have been their moſt valuable commodities, in return for the rum of thoſe iſlands.

The mother country, at length, perceived how much theſe defects in the political regulations and inſtitutions had prevented the increaſe of the colony, and freed them from the reſtraints they had before been clogged with; and the government in Georgia was ſettled upon the ſame plan as that which had rendered Carolina ſo flouriſhing; and inſtead of being dependent on a few individuals, became one of the national poſſeſſions.

THOUGH this colony has not ſo extenſive a territory, ſo temperate a climate, nor ſo fertile a ſoil as the neighbouring province, and though it can never be ſo flouriſhing as Carolina, notwithſtanding it cultivates rice, indigo, and almoſt all the ſame productions, yet it will become advantageous to the mother country, when the apprehenſions ariſing from the tyranny of its government

which

which have with reaſon prevented people from ſettling there, are removed. It will one day no longer be aſſerted, that Georgia is the leaſt populous of all the Engliſh colonies upon the continent, notwithſtanding the ſuccours government has ſo amply beſtowed upon it. All theſe advantages will fortunately be increaſed by the acquiſition of Florida; a province, which from its vicinity muſt neceſſarily influence the proſperity of Georgia, and which claims our attention from ſtill more important reaſons.

Hiſtory of Florida. Its ceſſion from the Spaniards to the Engliſh.

UNDER the name of Florida the ambition of Spain comprehended all that tract of land in America, which extends from Mexico to the moſt northern regions. But fortune, which ſports with the vanity of nations, has long ſince confined this vague deſcription to the peninſula formed by the ſea on the channel of Bahama, between Georgia and Louiſiana. The Spaniards, who had often ſatisfied themſelves in preventing the population of a country they could not inhabit themſelves, were deſirous in 1565 of ſettling on this ſpot, after having driven the French from it, who had begun the year before to form a ſmall eſtabliſhment there.

THE moſt eaſterly ſettlement in this colony was known by the name of St. Mattheo. The conquerors would have abandoned it, notwithſtanding it was ſituated on a navigable river at two leagues diſtance from the ſea, in an agreeable and fertile ſoil, had they not diſcovered the Saſſafras upon it.

THIS tree, a native of America, is better in Florida than in any other part of that continent. It grows equally on the borders of the ſea and upon the mountains; but always in a ſoil that is neither too dry, nor too damp. It is ſtraight and lofty, like the fir-tree, without branches, and its top is formed ſomewhat in the ſhape of a cup.

BOOK XVIII.

a cup. It is an ever-green, and its leaves reſembles thoſe of a laurel. Its flower, which is yellow, is taken as the mullein and tea in infuſion. Its root, which is well known in trade, being very ſerviceable in medicine, ought to be ſpungy, light, of a greyiſh colour; of a ſharp, ſweetiſh and aromatic taſte; and ſhould have the ſmell of the fennel and aniſe. Theſe qualities give it the virtue of promoting perſpiration, reſolving thick and viſcous humours, and relieving palſies and catarrhs. It was formerly much uſed in venereal complaints.

THE firſt Spaniards who ſettled there, would, probably, have fallen a ſacrifice to this laſt diſorder, without the aſſiſtance of this powerful remedy; they would, at leaſt, not have recovered from thoſe dangerous fevers they were generally ſubject to at St. Mattheo; whether in conſequence of the food of the country, or the badneſs of the waters. But the ſavages taught them, that by drinking in a morning faſting, and at their meals, water in which Saſſafras had been boiled, they might certainly depend upon a ſpeedy recovery. The experiment, upon trial, proved ſucceſsful. But ſtill the village never emerged from the obſcurity and diſtreſs which were, undoubtedly, the natural and inſurmountable conſequences that attended the conquerors of the new world.

ANOTHER eſtabliſhment was formed upon the ſame coaſt, at fifteen leagues diſtance from St. Mattheo, known by the name of St. Auguſtine. The Engliſh attacked it in 1747, but were obliged to give up their attempts. Some Scotch Highlanders, who were deſirous of covering the retreat of the aſſailants, were repulſed and ſlain. A ſergeant, who fought among the Spaniards, was ſpared by the Indian ſavages, only that he might be reſerved to undergo thoſe torments which they inflict upon their priſoners. This man, it is ſaid, on ſeeing the

the horrid tortures that awaited him, addreſſed the blood-thirſty multitude in the following manner: BOOK XVIII.

"HEROES and patriarchs of the weſtern world, you "were not the enemies that I ſought for; but you have "at laſt been the conquerors. The chance of war has "thrown me in your power. Make what uſe you pleaſe "of the right of conqueſt. This is a right I do not "call in queſtion. But as it is cuſtomary in my country "to offer a ranſom for one's life, liſten to a propoſal not "unworthy your notice.

"KNOW then, valiant Americans, that in the coun-"try of which I am a native, there are ſome men who "poſſeſs a ſuperior knowledge of the ſecrets of nature. One "of thoſe ſages connected to me by the ties of kindred, "imparted to me, when I became a ſoldier, a charm to "make me invulnerable. You muſt have obſerved how "I have eſcaped all your darts: without ſuch a charm "would it have been poſſible for me to have ſurvived all "the mortal blows you have aimed at me? For I appeal "to your own valour, to teſtify that mine has ſufficiently "exerted itſelf, and has not avoided any danger. Life "is not ſo much the object of my requeſt, as the glory "of having communicated to you a ſecret of ſo much "conſequence to your ſafety, and of rendering the moſt "valiant nation upon the earth, invincible. Suffer me "only to have one of my hands at liberty, in order to "perform the ceremonies of inchantment, of which I "will now make trial on myſelf before you."

THE Indians liſtened with eagerneſs to this diſcourſe, which was flattering both to their warlike character, and their turn for the marvellous. After a ſhort conſultation, they untied one of the priſoner's arms. The highlander begged that they would put his broad ſword into the hands of the moſt expert and ſtouteſt among them; and

BOOK XVIII.

and at the ſame time laying bare his neck, after having rubbed it, and muttering ſome words accompanied with magic ſigns, he cried aloud with a chearful countenance: "Obſerve now, O valiant Indians, an inconteſtable proof "of my honeſty. Thou warrior, who now holds my "keen-cutting weapon, do thou now ſtrike with all thy "ſtrength: far from being able to ſever my head from "my body, thou wilt not even wound the ſkin of my "neck."

He had ſcarcely ſpoke theſe words, when the Indian, aiming the moſt violent blow, ſtruck off the head of the ſergeant, at the diſtance of twenty feet. The ſavages aſtoniſhed, ſtood motionleſs, viewing the bloody corpſe of the ſtranger; and then turning their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind credulity. But admiring the artifice the priſoner had made uſe of to avoid the torture by haſtening his death, they beſtowed on his body the funeral honours of their country. If this fact, the date of which is too recent to admit of credit, has not all the marks of authenticity it ſhould have, it will only be one falſehood more to be added to the accounts of travellers.

The Spaniards, who in all their progreſs through America, were more employed in deſtroying the inhabitants, than in conſtructing of buildings, had formed only thoſe two ſettlements we have taken notice of at the mouth of the channel of Bahama. At fourſcore leagues diſtance from St. Auguſtine, upon the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, they had raiſed that of St. Mark, at the mouth of the river Apalache. But this ſituation, well adapted to maintain a communication between the two continents of the new world, had already loſt all the little conſequence it had at firſt obtained, when

when the Engliſh ſettled at Carolina in 1704, and entirely deſtroyed it.

At the diſtance of thirty leagues further, was another colony, known by the name of St. Joſeph, but of leſs conſequence than that of St. Mark. Situated on a flat coaſt, and expoſed to every wind, and on a barren ſoil and an uncultivated country; it was the laſt place where one might expect to meet with inhabitants. But avarice being frequently a dupe to ignorance, ſome Spaniards ſettled there.

Those Spaniards who had formed an eſtabliſhment at the bay of Penſacola upon the borders of Louiſiana, were at leaſt happier in their choice of ſituation. The ſoil was ſuſceptible of culture; and there was a road which had it been a little deeper at its entrance, might have been thought a good one, if the beſt ſhips that arrived there had not ſoon been worm-eaten.

These five colonies, ſcattered over a ſpace ſufficient to have formed a great kingdom, did not contain more than three thouſand inhabitants ſurpaſſing each other in ſloth and poverty. They were all ſupported by the produce of their cattle. The hides they ſold at the Havannah, and the proviſions with which they ſerved their garriſon, whoſe pay amounted to 750,000 livres,(o) enabled them to purchaſe cloths and whatever elſe their ſoil did not furniſh them with. Notwithſtanding the miſerable ſtate in which they had been left by the mother country, the greateſt part of them choſe to go to Cuba, when Florida was ceded to England by the treaty of 1763. This acquiſition, therefore, was no more than a deſert, yet ſtill it was ſome advantage to have got rid of a number of lazy, indolent and diſaffected inhabitants.

(o) 32,822l. 10s.

BOOK XVIII.

GREAT BRITAIN was pleaſed with the proſpect of peopling a vaſt province, whoſe limits have been extended even to the Miſſiſippi, by the ceſſion France has made of part of Louiſiana. The better to fulfill her project ſhe has divided it into two governments, under the names of Eaſt and Weſt Florida.

THE Engliſh had long been deſirous of eſtabliſhing themſelves in that part of the continent, in order to open a free communication with the wealthieſt colonies of Spain. At firſt they had no other view but in the profits ariſing from a contraband trade. But an advantage ſo precarious and momentary, was not an object of ſufficient importance, nor any way ſuitable to the ambition of a great power. Cultivation alone can render the conqueſts of an induſtrious people flouriſhing. Senſible of this the Engliſh give every encouragement to promote culture in the fineſt part of their dominions. In one year, 1769, the parliament voted no leſs than 205,875 livres(p) for the two Floridas. Here, at leaſt, the mother for ſome time adminiſters nouriſhment to her new-born children; whereas, in other nations, the government ſucks and exhauſts at the ſame time the milk of the mother country and the blood of the colonies.

By what means England may render Florida uſeful to her.

IT is not eaſy to determine, to what degree of ſplendour this indulgence with time and good management may raiſe the Floridas. Appearances, however, are highly promiſing. The air is healthy, and the ſoil fit for every kind of grain. Their firſt trials of rice, cotton, and indigo, were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that the number of coloniſts was greatly increaſed by it. They pour in from the neighbouring provinces, the mother country, and all the proteſtant dominions in Europe. How greatly might this population be increaſed, if the ſo-

(p) 9,007l. 0s. 7d. halfpenny

ſovereigns of North America would depart from the maxims they have uniformly purſued, and would condeſcend to intermarriages with Indian families! And for what reaſon ſhould this method of civilizing the ſavage tribes, which has been ſo ſucceſsfully employed by the moſt enlightened politicians, be rejected by a free people, who from their principles muſt admit a greater equality than other nations? Would they then be ſtill reduced to the cruel alternative of ſeeing their crops burned, and their labourers maſſacred, or of perſecuting without intermiſſion, and exterminating without pity, thoſe wandering bands of natives? Surely a generous nation, which has made ſuch great and ſuch continued efforts to reign without a rival over this vaſt tract of the new world, ſhould prefer to ſanguinary and inglorious hoſtilities, a humane and infallible method of diſarming the only enemy that remains to diſturb her tranquillity!

The Engliſh flatter themſelves, that without the aſſiſtance of theſe alliances they ſhall ſoon be freed from the little interruption that remains. It is the fate of ſavage nations, ſay they, to waſte away in proportion as the people of civilized ſtates come to ſettle among them. Unable to ſubmit to the labour of cultivation, and failing of their uſual ſubſiſtence from the chace, they are reduced to the neceſſity of abandoning all thoſe tracts of lands which induſtry and activity have undertaken to clear. This is actually the caſe with all the natives bordering on the European ſettlements. They keep daily retiring further into the woods; they fall back upon the Aſſenipouals and Hudſon's bay, where they muſt neceſſarily encroach upon each other, and in a ſhort time muſt periſh for want of ſubſiſtence.

But before this total deſtruction is brought about, events of a very ſerious nature may occur. We have

BOOK XVIII.

not yet forgot the generous Pondiack. That formidable warriour had broke with the Engliſh in 1762. Major Roberts, who was employed to reconcile him, ſent him a preſent of brandy. Some Iroquois, who were ſtanding round their chief, ſhuddered at the ſight of this liquor. Not doubting that it was poiſoned, they inſiſted that he ſhould not accept ſo ſuſpicious a preſent. *How can it be*, ſaid their leader, *that a man, who knows my eſteem for him, and the ſignal ſervices I have done him, ſhould entertain a thought of taking away my life?* Saying this, he received and drank the brandy with a confidence equal to that of the moſt renowned hero of antiquity.

By many inſtances of magnanimity ſimilar to this, the eyes of the ſavage nations had all been fixed upon Pondiack. His deſign was to unite them in a body for the defence of their lands and independence. Several unfortunate circumſtances concurred to defeat this grand project; but it may be reſumed, and it is not impoſſible, may ſucceed. Should this be the caſe, the Engliſh will be under a neceſſity of protecting their frontier againſt an enemy, that hath none of thoſe expences to ſuſtain or evils to dread, which war brings with it among civilized nations; and will find the advantages they have promiſed themſelves from conqueſts made at the expence of ſo much treaſure and ſo much blood, conſiderably retarded, at leaſt, if not entirely cut off.

Extent of the Britiſh dominions in North America.

The two Floridas, part of Louiſiana, and all Canada obtained at the ſame æra, either by conqueſt or treaty, have rendered the Engliſh maſters of all that ſpace, which extends from the river St. Lawrence to the Miſſiſippi; ſo that without reckoning Hudſon's bay, Newfoundland, and the other iſlands of North-America, they are in poſſeſſion of the moſt extenſive empire that ever was formed upon the face of the globe. This vaſt territory

tory is divided from north to ſouth by a chain of high mountains, which alternately receding from and approaching the coaſt, leave between them and the ocean a rich tract of land of a hundred and fifty, two hundred, and ſometimes three hundred miles in breadth. Beyond theſe Apalachian mountains is an immenſe deſert, into which ſome travellers have ventured as far as eight hundred leagues without finding an end to it. It is ſuppoſed that the rivers at the extremity of theſe uncultivated regions have a communication with the South-ſea. If this conjecture, which is not deſtitute of probability, ſhould be confirmed by experience, England would unite in her colonies all the branches of communication and commerce of the new world. By her territories extending from one American ſea to the other, ſhe may be ſaid to join the four quarters of the world. From all her European ports, from all her African ſettlements, ſhe freights and ſends out ſhips to the new world. From her maritime ſettlements in the eaſt ſhe would have a direct channel to the Weſt-Indies, by the Pacific ocean. She would diſcover thoſe ſlips of land or branches of the ſea, the iſthmus or the ſtreight, which lies between the northern extremities of Aſia and America. By the vaſt extent of her colonies ſhe would have in her own power all the avenues of trade, and would ſecure all the advantages of it by her numerous fleets. Perhaps, by having the empire of all the ſeas ſhe might aſpire to the ſupremacy of both worlds. But it is not in the deſtiny of any ſingle nation to attain to ſuch a pitch of greatneſs. Is then extent of dominion ſo flattering an object, when conqueſts are made only to be loſt again? Let the Romans ſpeak! Does it conſtitute power, to poſſeſs ſuch a ſhare of the globe, that ſome part ſhall always be enlightened by the rays of the ſun, if while we reign in one world we are

BOOK XVIII.

to languish in obscurity in the other? Let the Spaniards answer!

The English will be happy, if they can preserve by the means of culture and navigation, an empire, which must ever be found too extensive, when it cannot be maintained without bloodshed. But as this is the price, which ambition must always pay for the success of its enterprizes, it is by commerce alone that conquests can become valuable to a maritime power. Never did war procure for any conqueror a territory more improveable by human industry than that of the northern continent of America. Although the land in general is so low near the sea, that in many parts it is scarcely distinguishable from the top of the main mast, even after bringing in fourteen fathom, yet the coast is very easy of access, because the depth diminishes insensibly as you advance. From this circumstance it is easy to determine exactly by the line the distance of the main land. Besides this the mariner has another sign, which is the appearance of trees, that, seeming to rise out of the sea, form an enchanting object to his view upon a shore, which presents roads and harbours without number for the reception and preservation of shipping.

The productions of the earth arise in great abundance from a soil newly cleared; but in return they are a long time coming to maturity. Many plants are even so late in flower, that the winter prevents their ripening; while on our continent, both the fruit and the seed of them are gathered in a more northern latitude. What should be the cause of this phænomenon? Before the arrival of the Europeans, the North Americans, living upon the produce of their hunting and fishery, left their lands totally uncultivated. The whole country was covered with woods and thickets. Under the shade of these forests grew

grow a multitude of plants. The leaves, which fell every winter from the trees, formed a bed three or four inches thick. Before the damps had quite rotted this ſpecies of manure, the ſummer came on; and nature, left entirely to herſelf, continued heaping inceſſantly upon each other theſe effects of her fertility. The plants buried under wet leaves, through which they with difficulty made their way in a long courſe of time, became accuſtomed to a ſlow vegetation. The force of culture has not yet been able to ſubdue this habit fixed and confirmed by ages, nor have the diſpoſitions of nature given way to the influence of art. But this climate ſo long unknown or neglected by mankind, preſents them with advantages, which ſupply the defects and ill conſequences of that omiſſion.

Trees peculiar to North America.

It produces almoſt all the trees that are natives of our climate. It has alſo others peculiar to itſelf; among theſe are the ſugar maple, and the candleberry myrtle. The candleberry myrtle is a ſhrub which delights in a moiſt ſoil, and is, therefore, ſeldom found at any diſtance from the ſea. Its ſeeds are covered with a white powder, which looks like flour. When they are gathered towards the end of autumn, and put into boiling water, there riſes a viſcous body, which ſwims at the top, and is ſkimmed off. As ſoon as this is come to a conſiſtence, it is commonly of a dirty green colour. To purify it, it is boiled a ſecond time, when it becomes tranſparent and of an agreeable green.

This ſubſtance, which in quality and conſiſtence is a medium between tallow and wax, ſupplied the place of both to the firſt Europeans that landed in this country. The dearneſs of it has occaſioned it to be leſs uſed, in proportion as the number of domeſtic animals hath increaſed. Nevertheleſs as it burns ſlower than tallow, is leſs ſubject to melt, and has not that diſagreeable ſmell, it is ſtill preferred, wherever it can be procured at a moderate

BOOK XVIII.

derate price. The property of giving light is, of all its uſes, the leaſt valuable. It ſerves to make excellent ſoap and plaiſters for wounds: it is even employed for the purpoſe of ſealing letters. The ſugar maple does not merit leſs attention than the candleberry myrtle, as may be conceived from its name.

THIS tree, whoſe nature it is to flouriſh by the ſide of ſtreams, or in marſhy places, grows to the height of an oak. In the month of March, an inciſion of the depth of three or four inches is made in the lower part of the trunk. A pipe is put into the orifice, through which the juice, that flows from it, is conveyed into a veſſel placed to receive it. The young trees are ſo full of this liquor, that in half an hour they will fill a quart bottle. The old ones afford leſs, but of a much better quality. No more than one inciſion or two at moſt can be made without draining and weakening the tree. If three or four pipes are applied, it ſoon dies.

THE ſap of this tree has naturally the flavour of honey. To reduce it to ſugar, they evaporate it by fire, till it has acquired the conſiſtence of a thick ſyrup. It is then poured into moulds of earthen ware or bark of the birch-tree. The ſyrup hardens as it cools, and becomes a red kind of ſugar, almoſt tranſparent, and pleaſant enough to the taſte. To give it a whiteneſs, they ſometimes mix up flour with it in the making; but this ingredient always changes the flavour of it. This kind of ſugar is uſed for the ſame purpoſes, as that which is made from canes; but eighteen or twenty pounds of juice go to the making of one pound of ſugar, ſo that it can be of no great uſe in trade.

Birds peculiar to North America.

AMIDST the multitude of birds which inhabit the foreſts of North America, there is one extremely ſingular in its kind; this is the humming bird, a ſpecies of which, on account of its ſmallneſs, is called by the French *l'oiſeau mouche*,

or

or the fly bird. Its beak is long and pointed like a needle, and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head it has a black tuft of incomparable beauty. Its breaſt is of a roſe colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings and tail are grey, bordered with ſilver, and ſtreaked with the brighteſt gold. The down, which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it ſo delicate a caſt, that it reſembles a velvet flower, whoſe beauty fades on the ſlighteſt touch.

THE ſpring is the only ſeaſon for this charming bird. Its neſt, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outſide with a grey and greeniſh moſs, and on the inſide lined with a very ſoft down gathered from yellow flowers. This neſt is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it about the ſize of the ſmalleſt peas. Many attempts have been made to rear the young ones; but they have never lived more than three weeks or a month at moſt.

THE humming bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itſelf in the calix of the largeſt flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing noiſe like that of a ſpinning-wheel. When it is tired, it lights upon the neareſt tree or ſtake; reſts a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwithſtanding its weakneſs, it does not appear timid; but will ſuffer a man to approach within eight or ten feet of it.

WHO would imagine, that ſo diminutive an animal could be malicious, paſſionate, and quarrelſome? They are often ſeen fighting together with great fury and obſtinacy. The ſtrokes they give with their beak are ſo ſudden and ſo quick, that they are not diſtinguiſhable by the eye. Their wings move with ſuch agility, that they

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BOOK XVIII.

seem not to move at all. They are more heard than seen: and their noise resembles that of a sparrow.

These little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves asunder. The precipitation, with which they peck it, betrays, as it is said, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the summer, thousands of flowers may be seen stript of all their leaves by the fury of the fly birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark of resentment is not rather an effect of hunger than of an unnecessarily destructive instinct.

North America formerly was devoured by insects. As the air was not yet purified, nor the ground cleared, nor the woods cut down, nor the waters drained off, these little animals destroyed without opposition all the productions of nature. None of them was useful to mankind. There is only one at present, which is the bee: but this is supposed to have been carried from the old to the new world. The savages call it, the English fly; and it is only found near the coasts. These circumstances announce it to be of foreign original. The bees fly in numerous swarms through the forests of the new world. They increase every day. Their honey is employed to several uses. Many persons make it their food. The wax becomes daily a more considerable branch of trade.

The English supply North America with domestic animals.

The bee is not the only present which Europe has had in her power to make to America. She has enriched her also with a breed of domestic animals, for the savages had none. America had not yet associated beasts with men in the labours of cultivation, when the Europeans carried over thither in their ships several of our species of domestic animals. They have multiplied these prodigiously; but all of them, excepting the hog, whose whole

merit

merit conſiſts in fattening himſelf, have loſt much of that ſtrength and ſize which they enjoyed in thoſe countries from whence they were brought. The oxen, horſes, and ſheep have degenerated in the northern colonies of England, though the particular kinds of each had been choſen with great precaution.

WITHOUT doubt, it is the climate, the nature of the air and the ſoil which has prevented the ſucceſs of their tranſplantation. Theſe animals, as well as the men, were at firſt attacked by epidemical diſorders. If the contagion did not, as in the men, affect the principles of generation in them, ſeveral ſpecies of them at leaſt were with much difficulty reproduced. Each generation fell ſhort of the laſt; and as it happens to American plants in Europe, European cattle continually degenerated in America. Such is the law of climates, which wills every people, every animal and vegetable ſpecies to grow and flouriſh in its native ſoil. The love of their own country ſeems an ordinance of nature preſcribed to all beings, like the deſire of preſerving their exiſtence.

European grain carried into North America by the Engliſh.

YET there are certain correſpondencies of climate, which form exceptions to the general rule againſt tranſporting animals and plants. When the Engliſh firſt landed on the North American continent, the wandering inhabitants of thoſe deſolate regions had ſcarcely arrived at the cultivation of a ſmall quantity of maize. This ſpecies of corn, unknown at that time in Europe, was the only one known in the new world. The culture of it was by no means difficult. The ſavages contented themſelves with taking off the turf, making a few holes in the ground with a ſtick, and throwing into each of them a ſingle grain, which produced two hundred and fifty or three hundred. The method of preparing it for food was not more complicated. They pounded it in a wooden or

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BOOK XVIII.

ſtone mortar, and made it into a paſte, which they baked under embers. They often ate it boiled or toaſted merely upon the coals.

THE maize has many advantages. Its leaves are uſeful in feeding cattle; a circumſtance of great moment where there are very few meadows. A hungry, light, ſandy ſoil agrees beſt with this plant. The ſeed may be frozen in the ſpring two or three times without impairing the harveſt. In ſhort it is of all plants the one that is leaſt injured by the exceſs of drought or moiſture.

THESE cauſes, which introduced the cultivation of it in that part of the world, induced the Engliſh to preſerve and even promote it in their ſettlements. They ſold it to Portugal, to South America, and the ſugar iſlands, and had ſufficient for their own uſe. They did not, however, neglect to enrich their plantations with European grains, all of which ſucceeded, though not ſo perfectly as in their native ſoil. With the ſuperfluity of their harveſts, the produce of their herds, and the clearing of the foreſts, the coloniſts formed a trade with all the wealthieſt and moſt populous provinces of the new world.

THE mother country, finding that her northern colonies had ſupplanted her in her trade with South America, and fearing that they would ſoon become her rivals even in Europe at all the markets for ſalt and corn, endeavoured to divert their induſtry to objects that might be more uſeful to her. She wanted neither motives nor means to bring about this purpoſe, and had ſoon an opportunity to carry it into execution.

The Engliſh find the neceſſity of having their naval ſtores from America.

THE greateſt part of the pitch and tar the Engliſh wanted for their fleet, uſed to be furniſhed by Sweden. In 1703, that ſtate was ſo blind to its true intereſt, as to lay this important branch of commerce under the reſtrictions of an excluſive patent. The firſt effect of this

this monopoly was a ſudden and unnatural increaſe of price. England taking advantage of this blunder of the Swedes, encouraged by conſiderable premiums the importation of all ſorts of naval ſtores which North America could furniſh.

THESE rewards did not immediately produce the effect that was expected from them. A bloody war, raging in each of the four quarters of the world, prevented both the mother country and the colonies from giving to this infant revolution of commerce the attention which it merited. The northern nations, whoſe intereſts were united, taking this inaction, which was only occaſioned by the hurry of a war, for an abſolute proof of inability, thought they might without danger lay every reſtrictive clauſe upon the exportation of marine ſtores, that could contribute to enhance the price of them. For this end they entered into mutual engagements, which were made public in 1718, a time, when all the maritime powers ſtill felt the effects of a war, that had continued fourteen years.

ENGLAND was alarmed by ſo odious a convention. She diſpatched to America men of ſufficient ability to convince the inhabitants how neceſſary it was for them to aſſiſt the views of the mother country; and of ſufficient experience to direct their firſt attempts towards great objects, without making them paſs through thoſe minute details, which quickly extinguiſh an ardour excited with difficulty. In a very ſhort time ſuch quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, yards and maſts were brought into the harbours of Great Britain, that ſhe was enabled to ſupply the nations around her.

THIS ſudden ſucceſs blinded the Britiſh government. The cheapneſs of the commodities furniſhed by the colonies, in compariſon of thoſe which were brought from the Baltic, gave them an advantage, which ſeemed to

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BOOK XVIII.

inſure a conſtant preference. Upon this the miniſtry concluded that the bounties might be withdrawn. But they had not taken into their calculation the difference of freight, which was entirely in favour of their rivals. A total ſtop enſued in this branch of trade, and made them ſenſible of their error. In 1729, they revived the bounties; which though they were not laid ſo high as formerly, were ſufficient to give to the vent of American ſtores the greateſt ſuperiority, at leaſt in England, over thoſe of the northern nations.

The woods, though they conſtituted the principal riches of the colonies, had hitherto been overlooked by the governors of the mother country. The produce of them had long been exported by the Engliſh to Spain, Portugal, and the different markets in the Mediterranean, where it was bought up for building and other uſes. As theſe traders did not take in return merchandiſe ſufficient to complete their cargoes, it had been a practice with the Hamburghers, and even the Dutch to import on their bottoms the produce of the moſt fertile climates of Europe. This double trade of export and carrying had conſiderably augmented the Britiſh navy. The parliament, being informed of this advantage, in the year 1722, immediately exempted the timber of the colonies from all thoſe duties of importation, which Ruſſian, Swediſh and Daniſh timber are ſubject to. This firſt favour was followed by a bounty, which, at the ſame time that it comprehended every ſpecies of wood in general, was principally calculated for thoſe, which are employed in ſhipbuilding. An advantage, ſo conſiderable in itſelf, as this was, would have been greatly improved; if the colonies had built among themſelves veſſels proper for tranſporting cargoes of ſuch weight; if they had made wood yards, from which they might have furniſhed complete freights;

and

and finally, if they had abolished the cuſtom of burning in the ſpring the leaves which had fallen in the preceding autumn. This fooliſh practice deſtroys all the young trees, that are beginning in that ſeaſon to ſhoot out; and leaves only the old ones, which are too rotten for uſe. It is notorious, that veſſels conſtructed in America, or with American materials, laſt but a very ſhort time. This inconvenience may ariſe from ſeveral cauſes; but that, which has juſt been mentioned, merits the greater attention, as it may be eaſily remedied. Beſides timber and maſts for ſhips, America is capable of furniſhing likewiſe ſails and rigging, by the cultivation of hemp and flax.

THE French proteſtants, who, when driven from their country by a victorious prince fallen into a ſtate of bigotry, carried their national induſtry every where into the countries of his enemies, taught England the value of two commodities of the utmoſt importance to a maritime power. Both flax and hemp were cultivated with ſome ſucceſs in Scotland and Ireland. Yet the manufactures of the nation were chiefly ſupplied with both from Ruſſia. To put a ſtop to this foreign importation, it was propoſed to grant a bounty to North-America of 135 livres,(q) for every ton of theſe articles. But habit, which is an enemy to all novelties, however uſeful, prevented the coloniſts at firſt from being allured by this bait. They are ſince reconciled to it; and the produce of their flax and hemp ſerves to keep at home a conſiderable part of 45,000,000,(r) which went annually out of Great Britain for the purchaſe of foreign linens. It may, perhaps, in time be improved ſo far as to be equal to the whole demand of the kingdom, and even to ſupplant other nations in all the markets. A ſoil entirely freſh, which coſts nothing, does not ſtand in need of manure, is

(q) 6l. (r) 1,968,750l.

BOOK XVIII.

is intersected by navigable rivers, and may be cultivated by slaves, affords ground for immense expectations. To the timber and canvas requisite for shipping we have yet to add iron. The northern parts of America furnish this commodity to assist in acquiring the gold and silver which so abundantly flow in the southern.

England begins to get iron from North America.

THIS most useful of metals, so necessary to mankind, was unknown to the Americans, till the Europeans taught them the most fatal uses of it, that of making weapons. The English themselves long neglected the iron mines, which nature had lavished on the continent, where they were settled. That channel of wealth had been diverted from the mother country by being clogged with enormous duties. The proprietors of the national mines, aided by those of the coppice woods, which are used in the working of them, had procured imposts to be laid on them that amounted to a prohibition. By corruption, intrigue, and sophistry, these enemies to the public good had stifled a competition, which would have been fatal to their interests. At length the government took the first step towards a right conduct. The importation of American iron into the port of London was granted, duty-free; but at the same time it was forbid to be carried to any other ports, or even more than ten miles inland. This whimsical restriction continued till 1757. At that time the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance so manifestly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege which had been granted exclusively to the capital.

THOUGH nothing could be more reasonable than this demand, it met with the strongest opposition. Combinations of interested individuals were formed to represent, that the hundred and nine forges wrought in England, not

not reckoning those of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thousand tons of iron, and employed a great number of able workmen; that the mines, which were inexhaustible, would have supplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehension prevailed that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works carried on in England consumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of underwood, and that those woods furnished moreover bark for the tanneries and materials for ship-building; and that the American iron, not being proper for steel, for making sharp instruments, or many of the utensils of navigation, would contribute very little to lessen the importation from abroad, and would have no other effect than that of putting a stop to the forges of Great Britain.

These groundless representations had no weight with the parliament, who saw clearly that unless the price of the original materials could be lessened, the nation would soon lose the numberless manufactures of iron and steel, by which it had so long been enriched; and that there was no time to be lost in putting a stop to the progress other nations by their industry had made in it. It was therefore resolved that the free importation of iron from America should be permitted in all the ports of England. This wise resolution was accompanied with an act of justice. The proprietors of coppices were by a statute of Henry the eighth forbidden to clear their lands: the parliament took off this prohibition, and left them at liberty to make such use of their estates as they should think proper.

Previous to these regulations, Great Britain used to pay annually to Spain, Norway, Sweden and Russia ten millions of livres(s) for the iron she purchased of them.

(s) 437,500*l.*

BOOK XVIII.

This tribute is greatly leſſened, and will leſſen ſtill more. The ore is found in ſuch quantities in America, and is ſo eaſily ſeparated from the ground, that the Engliſh do not deſpair of having it in their power to furniſh Portugal, Turky, Africa, the Eaſt Indies, and every country in the world with which they have any commercial connections.

PERHAPS, the Engliſh may be too ſanguine in their repreſentations of the advantages they expect from ſo many articles of importance to their navy. But it is ſufficient for them, if by the aſſiſtance of their colonies they can free themſelves from that dependence in which the northern powers of Europe have hitherto kept them, with regard to the equipment of their fleets. Formerly their operations might have been prevented or at leaſt interrupted by a refuſal of the neceſſary materials. From this time nothing will be able to check their natural ardour for the empire of the ſea, which alone can inſure to them the empire of the new world.

England endeavours to procure wine and ſilk from North America.

AFTER having paved the way to that grand object, by forming a free, independent navy, ſuperior to that of every other nation; England has adopted every meaſure, that can contribute to her enjoyment of this ſpecies of conqueſt ſhe has made in America, leſs by the force of her arms than of her induſtry. By bounties judiciouſly beſtowed, ſhe has ſucceeded ſo far as to draw annually from that country twenty million weight of pot-aſhes. The greateſt progreſs has been made in the cultivation of rice, indigo and tobacco. In proportion as the ſettlements, from their natural tendency, ſtretched further towards the ſouth, freſh projects and enterprizes ſuitable to the nature of the ſoil ſuggeſted themſelves. In the temperate and in the hot climates, the ſeveral productions were expected which neceſſarily reward the labours of the cultivator. Wine was the only article that ſeemed to be wanting

wanting to the new hemiſphere; and the Engliſh, who have none in Europe, were eager to produce ſome in America.

Upon that immenſe continent the Engliſh are in poſſeſſion of, are found prodigious quantities of wild vines, which bear grapes, differing in colour, ſize and quantity, but all of a ſour and diſagreeable flavour. It was ſuppoſed that good management would give theſe plants that perfection, which unaſſiſted nature had denied them; and French vine-dreſſers were invited into a country, where neither public nor private impoſitions took away their inclination to labour by depriving them of the fruits of their induſtry. The repeated experiments they made both with American and European plants, were all equally unſucceſsful. The juice of the grape was too watery, too weak, and almoſt impoſſible to be preſerved in a hot climate. The country was too full of woods, which attract and confine the moiſt and hot vapours; the ſeaſons were too unſettled, and the inſects too numerous near the foreſts to ſuffer a production to expand and proſper, of which the Engliſh and all other nations who have it not, are ſo ambitious. The time will come, perhaps, though it will be long firſt, when their colonies will furniſh them with a beverage, which they envy and purchaſe from France, repining inwardly that they are obliged to contribute towards enriching a rival, whom they are anxious to ruin. This diſpoſition is cruel. England has other more gentle and more honourable means of attaining that proſperity ſhe is ambitious of. Her emulation may be better and more uſefully exerted on an article now cultivated in each of the four quarters of the globe; this is ſilk! the work of that little worm which clothes mankind with the leaves of trees digeſted in its entrails: ſilk! that double prodigy of nature and of art.

BOOK XVIII.

A very conſiderable ſum of money is annually exported from Great Britain for the purchaſe of this rich production; which gave riſe about thirty years ago to a plan for obtaining ſilk from Carolina; the mildneſs of the climate, and the great abundance of mulberry-trees ſeemed favourable to the project. Some attempts made by the government to attract ſome Switzers into the colony, were more ſucceſsful than could have been expected. Yet the progreſs of this branch of trade has not been anſwerable to ſo promiſing a beginning. The blame has been laid on the inhabitants of the colony, who buying only negroe men, from whom they received an immediate and certain profit, neglected to have women, who with their children might have been employed in bringing up ſilk-worms, an occupation ſuitable to the weakneſs of that ſex, and to the tendereſt age. But it ought to have been conſidered, that men coming from another hemiſphere into a rude uncultivated country, would apply their firſt care to the cultivation of eſculent plants, breeding cattle, and the toils of immediate neceſſity. This is the natural and conſtant proceeding of well-governed ſtates. From agriculture, which is the ſource of population, they riſe to the arts of luxury; and the arts of luxury nouriſh commerce, which is the child of induſtry and father of wealth. The time is, perhaps, come, when the Engliſh may employ whole colonies in the cultivation of ſilk. This is, at leaſt, the national opinion. On the 18th of April 1769, the parliament granted a bounty of 25 per cent. for ſeven years on all raw ſilks imported from the colonies; a bounty of 20 per cent. for ſeven years following, and for ſeven years after that a bounty of 15 per cent. If this encouragement produces ſuch improvements as may reaſonably be expected from it, the next ſtep undoubtedly will be the cultivation of cotton and olive trees, which ſeem particularly

ticularly adapted to the climate and ſoil of the Engliſh colonies. There are not, perhaps, any rich productions either in Europe or Aſia, but what may be tranſplanted and cultivated with ſucceſs on the vaſt continent of North America, as ſoon as population ſhall have provided hands in proportion to the extent and fertility of ſo rich a territory. The great object of the mother country at preſent is the peopling of her colonies.

What kind of men England peoples her North American colonies with.

The firſt perſons, who landed in this deſert and ſavage region were Engliſhmen, who had been perſecuted at home for their civil and religious opinions.

It was not to be expected that this firſt emigration would be attended with important conſequences. The inhabitants of Great Britain are ſo ſtrongly attached to their native ſoil, that nothing leſs than civil wars or revolutions can induce thoſe among them, who have any property, character, or induſtry, to a change of climate and country: for which reaſon, the re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity in Europe was likely to put an inſurmountable bar to the progreſs of American cultivation.

Add to this, that the Engliſh, though naturally active, ambitious and enterpriſing, were ill-adapted to the buſineſs of clearing the grounds. Accuſtomed to a quiet life, eaſe and many conveniences, nothing but the enthuſiaſm of religion or politics could ſupport them under the labours, miſeries, wants and calamities inſeparable from new plantations.

It is further to be obſerved, that, though England might have been able to overcome theſe difficulties, it was not a deſireable object for her. Without doubt, the founding of colonies, rendering them flouriſhing and enriching herſelf with their productions, was an advantageous proſpect to her; but thoſe advantages would be dearly purchaſed at the expence of her own population.

BOOK XVIII.

HAPPILY for her, the intolerant and deſpotic ſpirit, that ſwayed moſt countries of Europe, forced numberleſs victims to take refuge in an uncultivated tract, which, in its ſtate of deſolation, ſeemed to implore that aſſiſtance for itſelf which it offered to the unfortunate. Theſe men, who had eſcaped from the rod of tyranny, in croſſing the ſeas, abandoned all hopes of return, and attached themſelves for ever to a country, which at the ſame time afforded them an aſylum and an eaſy quiet ſubſiſtence. Their good fortune could not remain for ever unknown. Multitudes flocked from different parts to partake of it. Nor has this eagerneſs abated, particularly in Germany, where nature produces men for the purpoſes either of conquering or cultivating the earth. It will even increaſe. The advantage granted to emigrants, throughout the Britiſh dominions, of being naturalized by a reſidence of ſeven years in the colonies, ſufficiently warrants this prediction.

WHILE tyranny and perſecution were deſtroying population in Europe, Engliſh America was beginning to be peopled with three ſorts of inhabitants. The firſt claſs conſiſts of freemen. It is the moſt numerous; but hitherto it has viſibly degenerated. The Creoles in general, though habituated to the climate from their cradle, are not ſo robuſt and fit for labour, nor ſo powerful in war as the Europeans; whether it be that they have not the improvements of education, or that they are ſoftened by nature. In that foreign clime the mind is enervated as well as the body: endued with a quickneſs and early penetration, it eaſily apprehends, but wants ſteadineſs, and is not uſed to continued thought. It muſt be a matter of aſtoniſhment to find that America has not yet produced a good poet, an able mathematician, or a man of genius in any ſingle art or ſcience. They poſſeſs in general

neral a readineſs for acquiring the knowledge of every art or ſcience, but not one of them ſhews any deciſive talent for one in particular. More early advanced at firſt, and arriving at a ſtate of maturity ſooner than we do, they are much behind us in the latter part of life.

Perhaps, it will be ſaid, that their population is not very numerous, in compariſon with that of all Europe together; that they want aids, maſters, models, inſtruments, emulation in the arts and ſciences; that education with them is too much neglected, or too little improved. But we may obſerve, that in proportion, we ſee more perſons in America of good birth, of an eaſy, competent fortune, with a greater ſhare of leiſure and of other means of improving their natural abilities, than are found in Europe, where even the very method of training up youth is often repugnant to the progreſs and unfolding of reaſon and genius. Is it poſſible that although the Creoles educated with us have every one of them good ſenſe, or, at leaſt, the moſt part of them, yet not one ſhould have ariſen to any great degree of perfection in the ſlighteſt purſuit; and that among ſuch as have ſtaid in their own country no one has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a confirmed ſuperiority in thoſe talents which lead to fame? Has nature then puniſhed them for having croſſed the ocean? Are they a race of people degenerated by tranſplanting, by growth and by mixture? Will not time be able to reduce them to the nature of their climate? Let us beware of pronouncing on futurity, before we have the experience of ſeveral centuries. Let us wait till a more ample burſt of light has ſhone over the new hemiſphere. Let us wait till education may have corrected the inſurmountable tendency of the climate towards the enervating pleaſures of luxury and ſenſuality. Perhaps, we ſhall then ſee that America is propitious to

BOOK XVIII.

genius, and the arts that give birth to peace and ſociety. A new Olympus, an Arcadia, an Athens, a new Greece will produce, perhaps, on the continent, or in the Archipelago that ſurrounds it, another Homer, a Theocritus, and eſpecially an Anacreon. Perhaps, another Newton is to ariſe in New Britain. From Engliſh America without doubt will proceed the firſt rays of the ſciences if they are at length to break through a ſky ſo long time clouded. By a ſingular contraſt with the old world, in which the arts have travelled from the ſouth towards the north, in the new one, the north will be found to enlighten the ſouthern parts. Let the Engliſh clear the ground, puriſy the air, alter the climate, improve nature, and a new univerſe will ariſe out of their hands for the glory and happineſs of humanity. But it is neceſſary that they ſhould take ſteps conformable to this noble deſign, and aim by juſt and laudable means to form a population fit for the creation of a new world. This is what they have not yet done.

THE ſecond claſs of their coloniſts was formerly compoſed of malefactors which the mother country tranſported after condemnation to America, and who were bound to a ſervitude of ſeven or fourteen years to the planters who had purchaſed them out of the hands of juſtice. The diſguſt is grown univerſal againſt theſe corrupt men, always diſpoſed to commit freſh crimes.

THESE have been replaced by indigent perſons, whom the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting in Europe has driven into the new world. Having embarked without being capable of paying for their paſſage, theſe wretches are at the diſpoſal of their captain, who ſells them to whom he pleaſes.

THIS ſort of ſlavery is for a longer or ſhorter time; but it can never exceed eight years. If among theſe emigrants

emigrants there are any who are not of age, their ſervitude laſts till they arrive at that period, which is fixed at twenty-one for the boys, and eighteen for the girls.

None of thoſe who are contracted for have a right to marry without the approbation of their maſter, who ſets what price he chooſes on his conſent. If any one of them runs away, and he is retaken, he is to ſerve a week for each day's abſence, a month for every week, and ſix months for one. The proprietor who does not think proper to receive again one who has deſerted from his ſervice, may ſell him to whom he pleaſes, but that is only for the term of his firſt contract. Beſides neither the ſervice, nor the ſale carry any ignominy with it. At the end of his ſervitude, the contracted perſon enjoys all the rights of a free denizen. With his freedom, he receives from the maſter whom he has ſerved, either implements for huſbandry, or utenſils proper for his work.

But with whatever appearance of juſtice this ſpecies of traffic may be coloured, the greateſt part of the ſtrangers who go over to America under theſe conditions, would never ſet their foot on board a ſhip, if they were not inveigled away. Some artful kidnappers from the fens of Holland ſpread themſelves over the Palatinate, Suabia, and the cantons of Germany, which are the beſt peopled or leaſt happy. There they ſet forth with raptures the delights of the new world, and the fortunes eaſily acquired in that country. The ſimple men, ſeduced by theſe magnificent promiſes, blindly follow theſe infamous brokers engaged in this ſcandalous commerce, who deliver them over to factors at Amſterdam or Rotterdam. Theſe, either in pay with the Britiſh government, or with companies who have undertaken to ſtock the colonies with people, give a gratuity to the men employed in this ſervice. Whole families are ſold without their knowledge

to

BOOK XVIII.

to maſters at a diſtance, who impoſe the harder conditions upon them, as hunger and neceſſity do not permit the ſufferers to give a refuſal. The Engliſh form their ſupplies of men for huſbandry, as princes do for war; for a purpoſe more uſeful and more humane, but by the ſame artifices. The deception is perpetually carried on in Europe, by the attention paid to the ſuppreſſing of all correſpondence with America, which might unveil a myſtery of impoſture and iniquity, too well diſguiſed by the intereſted principles which gave riſe to it.

But in ſhort there would not be ſo many dupes, if there were fewer victims. It is the oppreſſion of government which makes theſe chimerical ideas of fortune be adopted by the credulity of the people. Men, unfortunate in their private affairs, vagabonds or contemptible at home, having nothing worſe to fear in a foreign climate, eaſily give themſelves up to the hope of a better lot. The means uſed to retain them in a country where chance has given them birth, are fit only to excite in them a deſire to quit it. It is imagined that they are to be under the conſtant reſtraint of prohibitions, menaces, and puniſhments: theſe do but exaſperate them, and drive them to deſertion by the very forbiddance of it. They ſhould be attached by ſoothing means; by fair expectations; whereas they are impriſoned, and bound: man, born free, is reſtrained from attempting to exiſt in regions, where heaven and earth offer him an aſylum. It has been thought better to ſtifle him in his cradle than to let him ſeek for his living in ſome climate that is ready to give him ſuccour. It is not judged proper even to leave him the choice of his burial-place.—Tyrants in policy! theſe are the effects of your laws! People, where then are your rights?

Is

Is it then become neceſſary to lay open to the nations the ſchemes that are formed againſt their liberty? Muſt they be told, that by a conſpiracy of the moſt odious nature, certain powers have lately entered into an agreement, which muſt deprive even deſpair itſelf of every reſource? For theſe two centuries paſt, all the princes of Europe have been fabricating among them in the ſecret receſſes of the cabinet that long and heavy chain with which the people are encompaſſed on every ſide. At every negociation freſh links were added to the chain ſo artificially contrived. Wars tended not to make ſtates more extenſive, but ſubjects more ſubmiſſive, by gradually ſubſtituting military government in lieu of the mild and gentle influence of laws and morality. The ſeveral potentates have all equally ſtrengthened themſelves in their tyranny by their conqueſts, or by their loſſes. When they were victorious, they reigned by their armies; when humbled by defeat, they held the command by the miſery of their puſillanimous ſubjects; whether ambition made them competitors or adverſaries, they entered into league or alliance, only to aggravate the ſervitude of the people. If they choſe to kindle war, or maintain peace, they were ſure to turn to the advantage of their authority, either the raiſing or debaſing of their people. If they ceded a province, they exhauſted every other to recover it, in order to make amends for their loſs. If they acquired a new one, the haughtineſs they affected out of it, was the occaſion of cruelty and extortion within. They borrowed one of another by turns every art and invention, whether of peace or of war, that might concur ſometimes to foment natural antipathy and rivalſhip, ſometimes to obliterate the character of the nations; as if there had been a tacit agreement among the rulers to ſubject the nations one by means of another to the deſpotiſm they had conſtantly

BOOK XVIII.

ſtantly been preparing for them. Ye people who all groan more or leſs ſecretly, doubt not of your condition; thoſe who never entertained any affection for you, are come now not to have any fear of you. In the extremity of wretchedneſs one ſingle reſource remained for you; that of eſcape and emigration.—Even that has been ſhut againſt you.

PRINCES have agreed among themſelves to reſtore to one another not only deſerters, who for the moſt part inliſted by compulſion or by fraud, have a good right to eſcape; not only rogues who in reality ought not to find a refuge any where; but indifferently all their ſubjects, whatever may be the motive that obliged them to quit their country.

THUS all you unhappy labourers, who find neither ſubſiſtence nor work in your own countries, after they have been ravaged and rendered barren by the exactions of finance; thus ye die where ye had the misfortune to be born, ye have no refuge but under ground. All ye artiſts and workmen of every ſpecies harraſſed by monopoliſts, who are refuſed the right of working at your own free diſpoſal, without having purchaſed the privileges of your calling: ye who are kept for your whole life in the work-ſhop, for the purpoſe of enriching a privileged factor: ye whom a court-mourning leaves for months together without bread or wages; never expect to live out of a country where ſoldiers and guards keep you impriſoned; go wander in deſpair, and die of regret. If ye venture to groan; your cries will be re-ecchoed and loſt in the depth of a dungeon; if ye make your eſcape, ye will be purſued even beyond mountains and rivers: ye will be ſent back, or given up, bound hand and foot, to torture, and to that eternal reſtraint to which you have been condemned from your birth. Do you likewiſe, whom nature

nature has endowed with a free ſpirit, independent of pre- BOOK XVIII.
judice and error, who dare to think and talk like men, do you eraſe from your minds every idea of truth, nature, and humanity. Applaud every attack made on your country and your fellow-citizens, or elſe maintain a profound ſilence in the receſſes of obſcurity and concealment. All ye who were born in thoſe barbarous ſtates, where the condition for the mutual reſtoration of deſerters has been entered into by the ſeveral princes, and ſealed by a treaty; recollect the inſcription Dante has engraved on the gate of his infernal region: *Voi ch' entrate, laſciate omai ogni ſperanza: You who enter here, may leave behind you every hope.*

WHAT! is there then no aſylum remaining beyond the ſeas? Will not England open her colonies to thoſe wretches, who voluntarily prefer her dominion to the inſupportable yoke of their own country? What need has ſhe of that infamous band of contracted ſlaves, kidnapped and debauched by the ſhameful means employed by every ſtate to increaſe their armies? What need has ſhe of thoſe beings ſtill more miſerable, of whom ſhe compoſes the third claſs of her American population? Yes, by an iniquity the more ſhocking as it is apparently the leſs neceſſary; her northern colonies have had recourſe to the traffic, and ſlavery of the negroes. It will not be diſowned, that they may be better fed, better clothed, leſs ill treated, and leſs overburthened with toil than in the Iſlands. The laws protect them more effectually, and they ſeldom become the victims of the barbarity or caprice of an odious tyrant. But ſtill what muſt be the burthen of a man's life who is condemned to languiſh in eternal ſlavery? Some humane ſectaries; chriſtians who look for virtues in the goſpel, more than for opinions, have often been deſirous of reſtoring to their ſlaves that

liberty

BOOK XVIII.

liberty for which they cannot receive any adequate compenſation; but they have been a long time withheld by a law of the ſtate, which directed that an aſſignment of a ſufficiency for ſubſiſtence ſhould be made to thoſe who were ſet at liberty.

LET us rather ſay, the convenient cuſtom of being waited on by ſlaves; the fondneſs we have for power, which we attempt to juſtify by pretending to alleviate their ſervitude; the opinion ſo readily entertained that they do not complain of a ſtate, which is by time changed into nature: theſe are the ſophiſms of ſelf-love, calculated to appeaſe the clamours of conſcience. The generality of mankind are not born with evil diſpoſitions, or prone to do ill by choice; but even among thoſe whom nature ſeems to have formed juſt and good, there are but few who poſſeſs a ſoul ſufficiently diſintereſted, courageous and great, to do any good action, if they muſt ſacrifice ſome advantage for it.

BUT ſtill the quakers have juſt ſet an example which ought to make an epocha in the hiſtory of religion and humanity. In one of theſe aſſemblies, where every one of the faithful, who conceives himſelf moved by the impulſe of the holy ſpirit, has a right of ſpeaking; one of the brethren, who was himſelf undoubtedly inſpired on this occaſion, aroſe and ſaid: "How long then ſhall we have "two conſciences, two meaſures, two ſcales; one in "our own favour, one for the ruin of our neighbour, "both equally falſe? Is it for us, brethren, to complain "at this moment, that the parliament of England wiſhes "to enſlave us, and to impoſe upon us the yoke of ſub-"jects, without leaving us the rights of citizens; while "for this century paſt, we have been calmly acting the "part of tyrants, by keeping in bonds of the hardeſt "ſlavery men who are our equals and our brethren?

"What

"What have those unhappy creatures done to us, whom nature had separated from us by barriers so formidable, whom our avarice has sought after through storms and wrecks, and brought away from the midst of their burning sands, or from their dark forests inhabited by tygers? What crime have they been guilty of, that they should be torn from a country which fed them without toil, and that they should be transplanted by us to a land where they perish under the labours of servitude? Father of Heaven, what family hast Thou then created, in which the elder born, after having seized on the property of their brethren, are still resolved to compel them, with stripes, to manure with the blood of their veins and the sweat of their brow that very inheritance of which they have been robbed? Deplorable race, whom we render brutes to tyrannize over them: in whom we extinguish every power of the soul, to load their limbs and their bodies with burdens; in whom we efface the image of God, and the stamp of manhood. A race mutilated and dishonoured as to the faculties of mind and body, throughout its existence, by us who are christians and Englishmen! Englishmen, ye people favoured by Heaven, and respected on the seas, would ye be free and tyrants at the same instant? No. Brethren: it is time we should be consistent with ourselves. Let us set free those miserable victims of our pride: let us restore the negroes to liberty, which man should never take from man. May all christian societies be induced by our example to repair an injustice authorized by the crimes and plunders of two centuries! May men too long degraded, at length raise to Heaven their arms freed from chains, and their eyes bathed in tears of gratitude! Alas! the unhappy mortals have hitherto shed no tears but those of despair!"

THIS

BOOK XVIII.

THIS diſcourſe awakened remorſe, and the ſlaves in Penſylvania were ſet at liberty. A revolution ſo amazing muſt neceſſarily have been the work of a people inclined to toleration. But let us not expect ſimilar inſtances of heroiſm in thoſe countries which are as deep ſunk in barbariſm by the vices attendant on luxury, as they have formerly been from ignorance. When a government, at once both prieſtly and military, has brought every thing, even the opinions of men, under its yoke; when man, become an impoſtor, has perſuaded the armed multitude that he holds from Heaven the right of oppreſſing the earth; there is no ſhadow of liberty left for civilized nations. Why ſhould they not take their revenge on the ſavage people of the torrid zone?

Preſent ſtate of population in the Engliſh provinces of North America.

NOT to mention the population of the negroes, which may amount to 300,000 ſlaves, in 1750 a million of inhabitants were reckoned in the Britiſh provinces of North America. There muſt be now upwards of two millions; as it is proved by undeniable calculations that the number of people doubles every 15 or 16 years in ſome of thoſe provinces, and every 18 or 20 in others. So rapid an increaſe muſt have two ſources, the firſt is that number of Iriſhmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltzburghers, who after having been worn out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in ſearch of peace and quietneſs in diſtant climates. The ſecond ſource of that amazing increaſe is from the climate itſelf of the colonies, where experience has ſhewn that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five and twenty years. Mr. Franklin's remarks will make theſe truths evident.

THE numbers of the people, ſays that philoſopher, increaſe every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increaſes as the means of ſubſiſting

fiſting a family are rendered more eaſy. In a country where the means of ſubſiſtence abound, more people marry early. In a ſociety, whoſe proſperity is a mark of its antiquity, the rich alarmed at the expences which female luxury brings along with it, are as late as poſſible in forming an eſtabliſhment, which it is difficult to fix, and whoſe maintenance is coſtly; and the perſons, who have no fortunes, paſs their days in a celibacy which diſturbs the married ſtate. The maſters have but few children, the ſervants have none at all; and the artificers are afraid of having any. This irregularity is ſo perceptible, eſpecially in great towns, that families are not kept up ſufficiently to maintain population in an even ſtate, and that we conſtantly find there more deaths than births. Happily for us that decay has not yet penetrated into the country, where the conſtant practice of making up the deficiency of the towns gives a little more ſcope for population. But the lands being every where occupied, and let at the higheſt rate, thoſe who cannot arrive at property of their own, are hired by thoſe who have property. Rivalſhip, owing to the multitude of workmen, lowers the price of labour, and the ſmallneſs of their profits takes away the deſire and the hope, as well as the abilities requiſite for increaſe by marriage. Such is the preſent ſtate of Europe.

That of America preſents an appearance of a quite contrary nature. Tracts of land, waſte and uncultivated, are to be had either for nothing, or ſo cheap, that a man of the leaſt turn for labour, is furniſhed in a ſhort time with an extent, which while it is ſufficient to rear a numerous family, will maintain his poſterity for a conſiderable time. The inhabitants, therefore, of the new world, induced likewiſe by the climate, marry in greater numbers, and at an earlier time of life, than the in-

BOOK XVIII.

habitants of Europe. Where one hundred enter into the married ſtate in Europe, there are two hundred in America, and if we reckon four children to each marriage in our climates, we ſhould allow, at leaſt, eight in the new hemiſphere. If we multiply theſe families by their produce, it will appear that in leſs than two centuries the Britiſh northern colonies will arrive at an immenſe degree of population, unleſs the mother country contrive ſome obſtacles to impede its natural progreſs.

Happineſs of the inhabitants in the Britiſh colonies of North America.

THEY are now peopled with healthy and robuſt men, of a ſtature above the common ſize. Theſe Creoles are more quick and come to their full growth ſooner than the Europeans: but they are not ſo long-lived. The low price of meat, fiſh, grain, game, fruits, cyder, vegetables, keeps the inhabitants in a great plenty of things merely for nouriſhment. It is neceſſary to be more careful with reſpect to clothing, which is ſtill very dear, whether brought from Europe, or made in the country. Manners are in the ſtate they ſhould be among young colonies, and people given to cultivation, not yet poliſhed nor corrupted by the reſort of great cities. Throughout the families in general, there reigns œconomy, neatneſs, and regularity. Gallantry and gaming, the paſſions of eaſy wealth, ſeldom break in upon that happy tranquillity. The ſex are ſtill what they ſhould be, gentle, modeſt, compaſſionate, and uſeful; they are in poſſeſſion of thoſe virtues which continue the empire of their charms. The men are employed in their original duties, the care and improvement of their plantations, which will be the ſupport of their poſterity. One general ſentiment of benevolence unites every family. Nothing contributes to this union ſo much as a certain equality of ſtation, a ſecurity that ariſes from property, a general hope which every man has of increaſing it, and the facility of ſucceeding

ceeding in this expectation; in a word, nothing contributes to it so much as the reciprocal independence in which all men live, with respect to their wants, joined to the necessity of social connections for the purposes of their pleasures. Instead of luxury, which brings misery in its train, instead of that afflicting and shocking contrast, an universal welfare wisely dealt out in the original distribution of the lands, has by the influence of industry given rise in every breast to the desire of pleasing one another; a desire, without doubt, more satisfactory than the secret disposition to injure our brethren, which is inseparable from an extreme inequality of fortune and condition. Men never meet without satisfaction when they are neither in that state of mutual distance which leads to indifference, nor in that way of rivalship which borders on hatred. They come nearer together and collect in societies; in short it is in the colonies that men lead such a country life as was the original destination of mankind, best suited to the health and increase of the species: probably, they enjoy all the happiness consistent with the frailty of human nature. We do not, indeed, find there those graces, those talents, those refined enjoyments, the means and expence of which wear out and fatigue the springs of the soul, and bring on the vapors of melancholy which so naturally follow an indulgence in ardent pleasure: but there are the pleasures of domestic life, the mutual attachments of parent and children, and conjugal love, that passion so pure and so delicious to the soul that can taste it, and despise all other gratifications. This is the enchanting prospect exhibited throughout North America. It is in the wilds of Florida and Virginia, even in the forests of Canada, that men are enabled to continue to love their whole life long; what was the object of their

BOOK XVIII.

firſt affection, innocence and virtue, which never entirely loſe their beauty.

If any thing be wanting in Britiſh America, it is its not forming preciſely one people. Families are there found ſometimes re-united, ſometimes diſperſed, originating from all the different countries of Europe. Theſe coloniſts, in whatever ſpot chance or diſcernment may have placed them, all preſerve with a prejudice not to be worn out, their mother tongue, the partialities and the cuſtoms of their own country. Separate ſchools and churches hinder them from mixing with the hoſpitable people, who hold out to them a place of refuge. Still eſtranged from this people by worſhip, by manners, and probably by their feelings, they harbour ſeeds of diſſention that may one day prove the ruin and total overthrow of the colonies. The only preſervative againſt this diſaſter depends entirely on the management of the ruling powers.

What kind of government is eſtabliſhed in the Britiſh colonies of North America.

By ruling powers muſt not be underſtood thoſe ſtrange conſtitutions of Europe, which are a rude mixture of ſacred and profane laws. Engliſh America was wiſe or happy enough not to admit any eccleſiaſtical power: being from the beginning inhabited by preſbyterians, ſhe rejected with horror every thing that might revive the idea of it. All affairs that in the other parts of the globe depend on the tribunal of prieſts, are here brought before the civil magiſtrate, or the national aſſemblies. The attempts made by thoſe of the Engliſh church to eſtabliſh their hierarchy in that country, have ever been abortive, notwithſtanding the ſupport given by the mother country: but ſtill they have their ſhare in the adminiſtration of buſineſs as well as thoſe of other ſects. None but catholics have been excluded, on account of their refuſing thoſe oaths which the public tranquillity ſeemed to require. In this

this view American government has deſerved great commendation; but in other reſpects, it is not ſo well combined. BOOK XVIII.

POLICY, in its aim and principal object reſembles the education of children. They both tend to form men, and ſhould be ſimilar to each other in many reſpects. Savage people, firſt united in ſociety, require as much as children to be ſometimes led on by gentle means, and ſometimes reſtrained by compulſion. For want of experience, which alone forms our reaſon, as they are incapable of governing themſelves throughout the changes of things and the various concerns that belong to a riſing ſociety, government ſhould be enlightened with regard to them, and guide them by authority to years of maturity. Juſt ſo barbarous nations are under the rod, and as it were in the leading-ſtrings of deſpotiſm, till in the advance of ſociety, their intereſts teach them to conduct themſelves.

CIVILIZED nations, like young men, more or leſs advanced not in proportion to their abilities, but from the conduct of their early education, as ſoon as they come to their own ſtrength, and their own pretenſions, require being managed and even reſpected by their governors. A ſon well educated ſhould engage in no undertaking without conſulting his father: a prince on the contrary ſhould make no regulations without conſulting his people: further, the ſon, in reſolutions where he follows the advice of his father, frequently hazards nothing but his own happineſs; in all that a prince ordains, the happineſs of his people is concerned. The opinion of the public, in a nation that thinks and ſpeaks, is the rule of the government: and the prince ſhould never ſhock that opinion without public reaſons, nor ſtrive againſt it without conviction. Government is to model all its forms according to that opinion: opinion, it is well known, varies with manners, habits, and in-

BOOK XVIII.

formation. So that one prince may without finding the leaſt reſiſtance do an act of authority not to be revived by his ſucceſſor, without exciting the public indignation. From whence does this difference ariſe? The predeceſſor cannot have ſhocked an opinion that was not ſprung up in his time, while a ſucceeding prince may have openly counteracted it a century later. The firſt, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, without the knowledge of the public, may have taken a ſtep whoſe violence he may have ſoftened or made amends for by the happy ſucceſs of his government; the other, ſhall, perhaps, have increaſed the public calamities by ſuch unjuſt acts of wilful authority, as may perpetuate its firſt abuſes. Public remonſtrance is generally the cry of opinion; and the general opinion is the rule of government: and becauſe public opinion governs mankind, kings for this reaſon become rulers of men. Governments then as well as opinions ought to improve and advance to perfection. But what is the rule for opinions among an enlightened people? It is the permanent intereſt of ſociety, the ſafety and advantage of the nation. This intereſt is modified by the turn of events and ſituations; public opinion and the form of the government follow theſe ſeveral modifications. This is the ſource of all the forms of government, eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh, who are rational and free, throughout North America.

THE government of Nova Scotia, of one of the provinces in New England, New York, New Jerſey, Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia is ſtiled royal; becauſe the king of England is there veſted with the ſupreme authority. Repreſentatives of the people form a lower houſe, as in the mother country: a ſelect council, approved by the king, intended to ſupport the prerogatives of the crown, repreſents the houſe of peers, and main-

tains

tains that repreſentation by the fortune and rank of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the country, who are members of it. A governor convenes, prorogues, and diſſolves their aſſemblies; gives or refuſes aſſent to their deliberations, which receive from his approbation the force of law, till the king, to whom they are tranſmitted, has rejected them.

THE ſecond kind of government which takes place in the colonies, is known by the name of proprietary government. When the Engliſh firſt ſettled in thoſe diſtant regions, a greedy, active court favourite eaſily obtained in thoſe waſtes, which were as large as kingdoms, a property and authority without bounds. A bow and a few ſkins, the only homage exacted by the crown, purchaſed for a man in power the right of ſovereignty, or governing as he pleaſed in an unknown country: ſuch was the origin of government in the greater part of the colonies. At preſent, Maryland and Penſylvania are the only provinces under this ſingular form of government; or rather this irregular foundation of ſovereignty. Maryland, indeed, differs from the reſt of the provinces only by receiving its governor from the family of Baltimore, whoſe nomination is to be approved by the king. In Penſylvania, the governor named by the proprietary family, and confirmed by the crown, is not ſupported by a council which gives a kind of ſuperiority, and he is obliged to agree with the commons, in whom is naturally veſted all authority.

A third form, ſtiled by the Engliſh, charter government, ſeems more calculated to adduce harmony in the conſtitution. After having been that of all the provinces of New England, it now ſubſiſts only in Connecticut, and in Rhode iſland. It may be conſidered as a mere democracy. The inhabitants of themſelves elect, depoſe

BOOK XVIII.

all their officers, and make all laws they think proper, without being obliged to have the aſſent of the king, or his having any right to annul them.

At length the conqueſt of Canada, joined to the acquiſition of Florida, has given riſe to a form of legiſlation hitherto unknown throughout the realm of Great Britain. Thoſe provinces have been put or left under the yoke of military, and conſequently abſolute authority. Without any right to aſſemble in a national body, they receive immediately from the court of London every motion of government.

This diverſity of governments is not the work of the mother country. We do not find the traces of a reaſonable, uniform and regular legiſlation. It is chance, climate, the prejudices of the times and of the founders of the colonies that have produced this motley variety of conſtitutions. It is not for men, who are caſt by chance upon a deſert coaſt, to conſtitute a legiſlation.

All legiſlation, in its nature, ſhould aim at the happineſs of ſociety. The means by which it is to attain that ſingular elevated point, depend entirely on its natural qualities. Climate, that is to ſay, the ſky and the ſoil, are the firſt rule for the legiſlator. His reſources dictate to him his duties. In the firſt inſtance, the local poſition ſhould be conſulted. A number of people thrown on a maritime coaſt, will have laws more or leſs relative to agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the ſea or land may have on the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants who are to people that deſert coaſt. If the new colony is led by the courſe of ſome large river far within land, a legiſlator ought to have regard to their race, and the degree of their fecundity, and the connections the colony will have either within or without by the

the traffic of commodities moſt advantageous to its proſ- BOOK XVIII.
perity.

But it is eſpecially in the diſtribution of property that the wiſdom of legiſlation will appear. In general and throughout all the countries in the world, when a colony is founded, land is to be given to every perſon, that is to ſay, to every one an extent ſufficient for the maintenance of a family: more ſhould be given to thoſe who have abilities to make the neceſſary advances for improvement: ſome ſhould be kept vacant for poſterity, or for additional ſettlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

The firſt object of a riſing colony is ſubſiſtence and population: the next is the proſperity likely to flow from theſe two ſources. To avoid occaſions of war, whether offenſive or defenſive; to turn induſtry towards thoſe objects which produce moſt; not to form connections around them, except ſuch as are unavoidable, and may be proportioned to the ſtability which the colony acquires by the number of its inhabitants, and the nature of its reſources; to introduce above all things a partial and local ſpirit in a nation which is going to be eſtabliſhed, a ſpirit of union within, and of peace without; to refer every inſtitution to a diſtant but laſting point; and to make every occaſional law ſubſervient to the ſettled regulation which alone is to effect an increaſe of numbers, and to give ſtability to the ſettlement: theſe circumſtances make no more than a ſketch of a legiſlation.

The moral ſyſtem is to be formed on the nature of the climate; a large field for population is at firſt to be laid open by facilitating marriage, which depends upon the facility of procuring ſubſiſtence. Sanctity of manners ſhould be eſtabliſhed by opinion. In a barbarous iſland, which is to be ſtocked with children, no more would be neceſſary than to leave the firſt dawnings of truth to enlarge

BOOK XVIII.

large themſelves, as reaſon unfolds itſelf. With proper precautions againſt idle fears, proceeding from ignorance, the errors of ſuperſtition ſhould be removed, till that period when the warmth of the natural paſſions, fortunately uniting with the rational powers, diſſipates every phantom. But when people, already advanced in life, are to be eſtabliſhed in a new country, the ability of legiſlation conſiſts in not leaving behind any injurious opinions or habits, which may be cured or corrected. If we wiſh that they ſhould not be tranſmitted to poſterity, we ſhould watch over the ſecond generation by a general and public education of the children. A prince or legiſlator ſhould never found a colony, without previouſly ſending thither ſome proper perſons for the education of youth; that is, ſome governors rather than teachers: for it is of leſs moment to teach them what is good, than to guard them from evil. Good education arrives too late, when the people are already corrupted. The ſeeds of morality and virtue, ſown in the infancy of a race already corrupted, are annihilated in the early ſtages of manhood by debauchery, and the contagion of ſuch vices as have already become habitual in ſociety. The beſt educated young men cannot come into the world without making engagements and contracting acquaintance, on which the remainder of their lives depends. If they marry, follow any profeſſion, or purſuit, they find the ſeeds of evil and corruption rooted in every condition: a conduct entirely oppoſite to their principles; example and diſcourſe which diſconcerts and combats their beſt reſolutions.

But in a riſing colony, the influence of the firſt generation may be corrected by the manners of the ſucceeding. The minds of all are prepared for virtue by labour. The neceſſities of life remove all vices proceeding

ing from leiſure. The overflowings of ſuch population have a natural tendency towards the mother country, where luxury continually invites and ſeduces the rich and voluptuous planter. All means are open to the precautions of a legiſlator, who intends to refine the conſtitution and manners of the colony. Let them but have genius and virtue, the lands and the people he has to manage will ſuggeſt to his mind a plan of ſociety, that a writer can only mark out in a vague manner, liable to all the uncertainty of hypotheſes that are varied and complicated by an infinity of circumſtances too difficult to be foreſeen and put together.

But the firſt foundation of a ſociety for cultivation or commerce, is property. It is the ſeed of good and evil, natural or moral, conſequent on the ſocial ſtate. Every nation ſeems to be divided into two irreconcileable parties. The rich and the poor, the men of property, and the hirelings, that is to ſay, maſters and ſlaves, form two claſſes of citizens, unfortunately in oppoſition with one another.

In vain have ſome modern authors wiſhed by ſophiſtry to eſtabliſh a treaty of peace between theſe two ſtates. The rich on all occaſions are diſpoſed to get a great deal from the poor at little expence; and the poor are ever inclined to ſet a higher value on their labour: while the rich man muſt always give the law in that too unequal bargain. Hence ariſes the ſyſtem of counterpoiſe eſtabliſhed in ſo many countries. The people have not deſired to attack property which they conſidered as ſacred, but they have made attempts to fetter it, and to check its natural tendency to abſorb the whole. Theſe counterpoiſes have almoſt always been ill applied, as they were but a feeble remedy againſt the original evil in ſociety. It is then to the repartition of lands that a legiſlator will turn

BOOK XVIII.

turn his principal attention. The more wiſely that diſtribution ſhall be managed, the more ſimple, uniform and preciſe will be thoſe laws of the country which principally conduce to the preſervation of property.

THE Engliſh colonies partake, in that reſpect, of the radical vice inherent in the ancient conſtitution of the mother country. As its preſent government is but a reformation of that feudal government which had oppreſſed all Europe, it ſtill retains many uſages, which being originally but abuſes of ſervitude, are ſtill more ſenſible by their contraſt with the liberty which the people have recovered. It has, therefore, been found neceſſary to join the laws which left many rights to the nobility to thoſe which modify, leſſen, abrogate or ſoften the feudal rights. Hence ſo many laws of exception for one of principle; ſo many of interpretation for one fundamental; ſo many new laws that are at variance with the old. So that it is agreed, there is not in the whole world a code ſo diffuſe, ſo perplexed as that of the civil law of Great Britain. The wiſeſt men of that enlightened nation have often exclaimed againſt this diſorder. They have either not been heard, or the changes which have been produced by their remonſtrances, have only ſerved to increaſe the confuſion.

BY their dependence and their ignorance the colonies have blindly adopted that deformed and ill-digeſted maſs, whoſe burden oppreſſed their anceſtors: they have added to that obſcure heap of materials by every new law that the times, manners, and place could introduce. From this mixture has reſulted a chaos the moſt difficult to unfold; a collection of contradictions that require much pains to reconcile. Immediately there ſprang up a numerous body of lawyers to devour the lands and inhabitants of thoſe new-ſettled climates. The fortune and in-

influence they have acquired in a ſhort time, have brought into ſubjection to their rapaciouſneſs the valuable claſs of citizens employed in agriculture, commerce, in all the arts and toils moſt indiſpenſably neceſſary for all ſociety; but almoſt ſingularly eſſential to a riſing community. To the ſevere evil of chicane, which has attached itſelf to the branches, in order to ſeize on the fruit, has ſucceeded the ſcourge of finance, which preys on the heart and root of the tree.

The coin current in the Engliſh colonies of North America.

In the origin of the colonies, the coin bore the ſame value as in the mother country. The ſcarcity of it ſoon occaſioned a riſe of one third. That inconvenience was not remedied by the abundance of ſpecie which came from the Spaniſh colonies; becauſe they were obliged to tranſmit that into England in order to pay for the merchandiſe they wanted from thence. This was a gulph that ſucked up the circulation in the colonies. The confuſion occaſioned by this continual export furniſhed a pretence for the employing of paper-money.

There are two ſorts of it. The firſt has in view the encouragement of agriculture, trade and induſtry. Every coloniſt who has more ambition than means, obtains from the province a paper credit, provided he conſents to pay an intereſt of 5 per cent. furniſhes a ſufficient mortgage, and agrees to repay every year a tenth of the capital borrowed. By means of this mark, which is received without diſpute into the public treaſury, and which their fellow-citizens cannot refuſe, the buſineſs of private perſons becomes more briſk and eaſy. The government itſelf draws conſiderable advantages from this circulation; becauſe as it receives intereſt and pays none, it can without the aid of taxes apply this fund to the important objects of public utility.

BOOK XVIII.

BUT there is another ſort of paper, whoſe exiſtence is ſolely owing to the neceſſities of government. The ſeveral provinces of America had formed projects and contracted engagements beyond their abilities. They thought to make good the deficiency of their money by credit. Taxes were impoſed to liquidate thoſe bills that preſſed for payment; but before the taxes had produced that ſalutary effect, new wants came on that required freſh loans. The debts, therefore, accumulated, and the taxes were not ſufficient to anſwer them. At length, the amount of the government bills exceeded all bounds after the late hoſtilities, during which the colonies had raiſed and provided for 25,000 men, and contributed to all the expences of ſo long and obſtinate a war. The paper thus ſank into the utmoſt diſrepute, though it had been introduced only by the conſent of the ſeveral general aſſemblies, and that each province was to be anſwerable for what was of their own creation.

THE parliament of Great Britain obſerved this confuſion, and attempted to remedy it. They regulated the quantity of paper circulation each colony ſhould create for the future, and as far as their information went, proportioned the maſs of it to their riches and reſources. This regulation diſpleaſed all perſons, and in the year 1769, it was ſoftened.

PAPER, of the uſual figure of the coin, ſtill continues to paſs in all kind of buſineſs. Each piece is compoſed of two round leaves, glued one on the other, and bearing on each ſide the ſtamp that diſtinguiſhes them. There are ſome of every value. Each province has a public building for the making of them, and private houſes from whence they are diſtributed: the pieces, which are much worn or ſoiled, are carried to theſe houſes, and freſh ones received in exchange. There never has been an inſtance of

of the officers employed in theſe exchanges having been guilty of the leaſt fraud.

But this honeſty is not ſufficient for the proſperity of the colonies. Though for forty years their conſumption has increaſed four times as much as their population, from whence it is apparent that the abilities of each ſubject are four times what they were, yet one may foretel that theſe large eſtabliſhments will never riſe to that degree of ſplendour for which nature deſigns them, unleſs the fetters are broken, which confine both their interior induſtry and their foreign trade.

The engliſh colonies in North America are ſhackled in their induſtry and commerce.

The firſt coloniſts that peopled North America applied themſelves in the beginning ſolely to agriculture. It was not long before they perceived that their exports did not enable them to buy what they wanted, and they, therefore, found themſelves in a manner compelled to ſet up ſome rude manufactures. The intereſts of the mother country ſeemed hurt at this innovation. The circumſtance was brought into parliament, and there diſcuſſed with all the attention it deſerved. There were men bold enough to defend the cauſe of the coloniſts. They urged, that as the buſineſs of tillage did not employ men all the year round, it was tyranny to oblige them to waſte in idleneſs the time which the land did not require: that as the produce of agriculture and hunting did not furniſh them to the extent of their wants, it was reducing them to miſery to hinder the people from providing againſt them by a new ſpecies of induſtry: in ſhort, that the prohibition of manufactures only tended to occaſion the price of all proviſions in a riſing ſtate to be enhanced, to leſſen, or, perhaps, ſtop the ſale of them, and keep off ſuch perſons as might intend to ſettle there.

The evidence of theſe principles was not to be controverted: they were complied with after great debates.

The

BOOK XVIII.

The Americans were permitted to manufacture their own cloths themſelves, but with ſuch reſtrictions as betrayed how much avarice regretted, what an appearance of juſtice could not but allow. All communication from one province to another on this account was ſeverely prohibited. They were forbidden under the heavieſt penalties to traffic from one to the other for wool of any ſort, raw, or manufactured. However, ſome manufacturers of hats ventured to break through theſe reſtrictions. To put a ſtop to what was termed a heinous diſorderly practice, the parliament had recourſe to that mean and cruel ſpirit of regulations. A workman was not empowered to ſet up for himſelf till after ſeven years apprenticeſhip; a maſter was not allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time, nor to employ any ſlave in his workſhop.

IRON mines, which ſeem to put into mens hands the marks of their own independence, were laid under reſtrictions ſtill more ſevere. It was not allowed to carry iron in bars, or rough lumps any where but to the mother country. Without crucibles to melt it, or machines to bend it, without hammers or anvils to faſhion it, they had ſtill leſs the liberty of converting it into ſteel.

IMPORTATION received ſtill further reſtraints. All foreign veſſels, unleſs in evident diſtreſs or danger of wreck, or freighted with gold or ſilver, were not to come into any of the ports of North America. Even Engliſh veſſels are not admitted there, unleſs they come immediately from ſome port of that country. The ſhipping of the colonies going to Europe, are to bring back no merchandiſe but from the mother country, except wine from the Madeiras, and the Azores, and ſalt neceſſary for their fiſheries.

ALL exportations were originally to terminate in England; but weighty reaſons have determined the government

ment to relax and abate this extreme ſeverity. It is at preſent allowed to the coloniſts to carry directly ſouth of Cape Finiſterre, grain, meal, rice, vegetables, fruit, ſalt, fiſh, planks, and timber. All other productions belong excluſively to the mother country. Even Ireland that furniſhed an advantageous vent for corn, flax, and pipe ſtaves, has been ſhut againſt them by an act of parliament of 1766.

THE parliament, which is the repreſentative of the nation, aſſumes the right of directing commerce in its whole extent throughout the Britiſh dominions. It is by that authority they pretend to regulate the connections between the mother country and the colonies, to maintain a communication, an advantageous reciprocal reaction between the ſcattered parts of the immenſe empire. There ſhould, in fact, be one power to appeal to, in order to determine finally upon the relations that may be uſeful or prejudicial to the general good of the whole ſociety. The parliament is the only body that can aſſume ſuch an important power. But they ought to employ it to the advantage of every member of that confederated ſociety. This is an inviolable maxim, eſpecially in a ſtate where all the powers are formed and directed for the preſervation of natural liberty.

THEY departed from that principle of impartiality, which alone can maintain the equal ſtate of independence among the ſeveral members of a free government; when the colonies were obliged to vent in the mother country all their productions, even thoſe which were not for its own conſumption: when they were obliged to take from the mother country all kinds of merchandiſe, even thoſe which came from foreign nations. This imperious and uſeleſs reſtraint, loading the ſales and purchaſes of the Americans with unneceſſary and ruinous charges,

BOOK XVIII.

has of courſe leſſened their activity, and conſequently diminiſhed their profits; and it has been only for the purpoſe of enriching a few merchants, or ſome factors at home, that the rights and intereſts of the colonies have thus been ſacrificed. All they owed to England for the protection they received from her, was but a preference in the ſale and importation of all ſuch of their commodities as ſhe could conſume; and a preference in the purchaſe and in the exportation of all ſuch merchandiſe as came from her hands: ſo far all ſubmiſſion was a return of gratitude; beyond it all obligation was violence.

It is thus that tyranny has given birth to contraband trade. Tranſgreſſion is the firſt effect produced by unreaſonable laws. In vain has it frequently been repeated to the colonies, that ſmuggling was contrary to the fundamental intereſt of their ſettlements, to all reaſon of government, and to the expreſs intentions of law. In vain has it been continually laid down in public writings that the ſubject who pays duty is oppreſſed by him who does not pay it; and that the fraudulent merchant robs the fair trader by diſappointing him of his lawful profit. In vain have precautions been multiplied for preventing ſuch frauds, and freſh penalties inflicted for the puniſhment of them. The voice of intereſt, reaſon and equity has prevailed over all the clamours and attempts of finance. Foreign importations ſmuggled into North America, amount to one third of thoſe which pay duty.

An indefinite liberty, or merely a reſtraint within due bounds, will ſtop the prohibited engagements of which ſo much complaint has been made. Then the colonies will arrive at a ſtate of affluence, which will enable them to diſcharge a weight of debt due to the mother country, amounting, perhaps, to 150 millions,(*t*) and to draw yearly

(*t*) 6,562,500*l.*

yearly from thence goods to the amount of 108 millions,(u) agreeable to the calculation of American conſumption ſtated by the parliament of Great Britain in 1766. But inſtead of this pleaſing proſpect, which one ſhould imagine muſt of courſe ariſe from the conſtitution of the Engliſh government, was there any neceſſity by a pretenſion not to be ſupported among a free people, to introduce into the colonies with the hardſhips of taxation, the ſeeds of diſorder and diſcord, and perhaps to kindle a flame which it is not ſo eaſy to extinguiſh as to light up?

The mother-country has attempted to eſtabliſh taxes in the colonies of North America. Whether ſhe had a right to do this?

ENGLAND had juſt emerged from a war, as one may ſay univerſal, during which her fleets had planted the ſtandard of victory over all the ſeas, and her conqueſts had enlarged her dominion with an immenſe territory in both the Indies. Such a ſudden increaſe gave her in the eyes of all the world a ſplendour that muſt raiſe envy and admiration; but within herſelf ſhe was continually reduced to grieve at her triumphs. Cruſhed with a load of debt to the amount of 3,330,000,000 livres,(w) that coſt her an intereſt 111,577,490 livres(x) a year, ſhe was with difficulty able to ſupport the current expences of the ſtate, with a revenue of 240,000,000 livres;(y) and that revenue far from increaſing was not even ſecure of its continuance.

THE land was charged with a higher tax than it had ever been in time of peace. New duties on houſes and windows undermined that ſort of property; and an increaſe of ſtock on a review of the finances depreſſed the value of the whole. A terror had been ſtruck even into luxury itſelf by taxes heaped on plate, cards, dice, wines, and brandy. No further expectation was left for commerce,

(u) 4,725,000*l.* (w) 145,687,500*l*
(x) 4,881,515*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* (y) 10,500,000*l.*

BOOK XVIII.

which paid in every port, at every iſſue for the merchandiſe of Aſia, for the produce of America, for ſpices, ſilks, for every article of export or import, whether manufactured or unwrought. The prohibitions of heavy duties had fortunately reſtrained the abuſes of ſpirituous liquors; but that was partly at the expence of the public revenue. It was thought amends would be made by one of thoſe expedients which it is generally eaſy to find, but hazardous to look out for among the objects of general conſumption, and abſolute neceſſity. Duties were laid on the ordinary drink of the common people, on malt, cider, and beer. Every ſpring was ſtrained: every power of the body politic had been extended to its utmoſt ſtretch. Materials and workmanſhip had ſo prodigiouſly riſen in price, that foreigners, whether rivals or conquered, which before had not been able to ſupport a conteſt with the Engliſh, were enabled to ſupplant them in every market, even in their own ports. The commercial advantages of Britain with every part of the world could not be valued at more than fifty-ſix millions;(z) and that ſituation obliged her to draw from the balance 35,100,000 livres,(a) to pay the arrears of 1,170,000,000 livres(b) which foreigners had placed in her public funds.

THE criſis was a violent one. It was time to give the people ſome relief. They could not be eaſed by a diminution of expences, thoſe being inevitable, either for the purpoſe of improving the conqueſts purchaſed by ſuch a loſs of blood and treaſure; or to mitigate the feelings of the Houſe of Bourbon, ſoured by the humiliations of the late war, and the ſacrifices of the late peace. In default of other means, to manage with a ſteady hand as well the preſent ſecurity as future proſperity, the expedient occurred of calling in the colonies to the aid of the mother country,

(z) 2,450,000*l.* (a) 1,535,625*l.* (b) 51,187500*l.*

country, by making them bear a part of her burthen. This determination ſeemed to be founded on reaſons not to be controverted.

It is a duty impoſed by the avowed maxims of all ſocieties and of every age, on the different members which compoſe a ſtate, to contribute towards all expences in proportion to their reſpective abilities. The ſecurity of the American provinces requires ſuch a ſhare of aſſiſtance from them, as may enable the mother country to protect them upon all occaſions. It was to deliver them from the uneaſineſs that moleſted them, that England had engaged in a war which has multiplied her debts: they ought then to aid her in bearing or leſſening the weight of that overcharge. At preſent, when they are freed of all apprehenſion from the attempts of a formidable adverſary, which they have fortunately removed, can they without injuſtice refuſe their deliverer, when her neceſſities are preſſing, that money which purchaſed their preſervation? Has not that generous protector, for a conſiderable time, granted encouragement to the improvement of their rich productions? Has ſhe not laviſhed gratuitous advances of money, and does ſhe not ſtill laviſh them on lands not yet cleared? Do not ſuch benefits deſerve to meet a return of relief and even of ſervices?

Such were the motives that perſuaded the Britiſh government that they had a right to eſtabliſh taxation in the colonies. They availed themſelves of the event of the late war to aſſert this claim ſo dangerous to liberty. For if we attend to it, we ſhall find that war, whether ſucceſsful or not, ſerves always as a pretext for every uſurpation of government; as if the heads of warring nations rather intended to reduce their ſubjects to more confirmed ſubmiſſion, than to make a conqueſt of their enemies. The American provinces were accordingly or-

BOOK XVIII.

dered to furniſh the troops ſent by the mother country for their ſecurity with a part of the neceſſaries required by an army. The apprehenſion of diſturbing that agreement which is ſo neceſſary among ourſelves, when ſurrounded by adverſaries without, induced them to comply with the injunctions of the parliament; but with ſuch prudence as not to ſpeak of an act they could neither reject without occaſioning civil diſſention, nor recognize without expoſing rights too precious to be forfeited. New-York alone ventured to diſapprove the orders ſent from Europe. Though the tranſgreſſion was ſlight, it was puniſhed as a diſobedience by a ſuſpenſion of her privileges.

It was moſt probable, that this attack made on the liberty of the colony would excite the remonſtrance of all the reſt. Either through want of attention or foreſight, neither of them complained. This ſilence was interpreted to proceed from fear, or from voluntary ſubmiſſion. Peace, that ſhould leſſen taxes every where, gave birth in the year 1764 to that famous ſtamp-act, which, by laying a duty on all marked paper, at the ſame time forbad the uſe of any other in public writings, whether judicial, or extra-judicial.

All the Engliſh colonies of the new continent revolted againſt this innovation, and their diſcontent manifeſted itſelf by ſignal acts. They entered into an agreement or conſpiracy, the only one that ſuited moderate and civilized people, to forego all manufactures made up in the mother country, till the bill they complained of was repealed. The women, whoſe weakneſs was moſt to be feared, were the firſt to give up whatever Europe had before furniſhed them with, either for parade or convenience. Animated by their example, the men rejected the commodities for which they were indebted to the old world.

world. In the northern countries, they were found paying as much for the coarſe ſtuffs, made under their own inſpection, as for fine cloths which were brought over the ſeas. They engaged not to eat lamb, that their flocks might increaſe, and in time be ſufficient for the clothing of all the coloniſts. In the ſouthern provinces where wool is ſcarce and of an inferior quality, they were to dreſs themſelves with cotton and flax furniſhed by their own climate. Agriculture was every where neglected, in order that the people might qualify themſelves for the induſtry of the workſhop.

THIS kind of indirect and paſſive oppoſition, which deſerves to be imitated by all nations who may hereafter be aggrieved by the undue exerciſe of authority, produced the deſired effect. The Engliſh manufacturers who had ſcarce any other vent for their goods than their own colonies, fell into that ſtate of deſpondency, which is the natural conſequence of want of employment: and their complaints which could neither be ſtifled nor concealed by adminiſtration, made an impreſſion which proved favourable to the colonies. The ſtamp-act was repealed after a violent ſtruggle that laſted two years, and which in an age of fanaticiſm, would, doubtleſs, have occaſioned a civil war.

BUT the triumph of the colonies did not laſt long. The parliament had given up the point with the greateſt reluctance: and it clearly appeared they had not laid aſide their pretenſions, when in 1767, they threw the duties which the ſtamp-act would have produced, upon all glaſs, lead, tea, colours, paſteboard, and ſtained paper exported from England to America. Even the patriots themſelves who ſeemed moſt inclined to enlarge the authority of the mother country over the colonies, could not help condemning a tax, which in its conſequences muſt affect

BOOK XVIII.

the whole nation, by diſpoſing numbers to apply themſelves to manufactures, who ought to have been ſolely devoted to the improvement of lands. The coloniſts have not been the dupes of this, any more than of the firſt innovation. It has in vain been urged that government had the power to impoſe what duties it thought proper upon exported goods, ſo long as it did not deprive the colonies of the liberty of manufacturing the articles ſubject to this new tax. This ſubterfuge has been conſidered as a deriſion, in reſpect to a people who being devoted entirely to agriculture, and confined to trade only with the mother country, could not procure either by their own labour, or by their connections abroad, the neceſſary articles that were ſold them at ſo high a price. They thought when a tax was to be impoſed, it was nothing more than a nominal diſtinction, whether it were levied in Europe, or America; and that their liberty was equally infringed by a duty laid upon commodities they really wanted, as by a tax upon ſtampt paper, which they had been made to conſider as a neceſſary article. Theſe intelligent people ſaw that government was inclined to deceive them, and thought it an indignity to ſuffer themſelves to be the dupes either of force, or of fraud. It appeared to them the ſureſt mark of weakneſs and degeneracy in the ſubjects of any nation, to wink at all the artful and violent meaſures adopted by government to corrupt and enſlave them.

THE diſlike they have ſhewn to theſe new impoſts, was not founded on the idea of their being exorbitant, as they did not amount to more than one livre, 8 ſols(*c*) for each perſon: which could give no alarm to a very populous community, whoſe public expence never exceeded the annual ſum of 3,600,000 livres.(*d*)

IT

(*c*) About 1*s*. 3*d*. (*d*) 157,500*l*.

It was not from any apprehenſion that the eaſe of their circumſtances would be affected: ſince the ſecurity they derived from the provinces ceded by France in the laſt war; the increaſe of their trade with the ſavages; the enlargement of their whale and cod fiſheries, together with thoſe of the ſhark and the ſeal; the right of cutting wood in the bay of Campeachy; the acquiſition of ſeveral ſugar iſlands; the opportunities of carrying on a contraband trade with the neighbouring Spaniſh ſettlements: all theſe circumſtances of advantage were abundantly ſufficient to compenſate the ſmall proportion of revenue which government ſeemed ſo anxious to raiſe.

It was not their concern leſt the colonies ſhould be drained of the ſmall quantity of ſpecie which continued in circulation. The pay of eight thouſand four hundred regular troops, maintained by the mother country in North America, muſt bring much more coin into the country than the tax could carry out of it.

It was not an indifference towards the mother country. The colonies, far from being ungrateful, have demonſtrated ſo zealous an attachment to her intereſts during the laſt war, that parliament had the equity to order conſiderable ſums to be remitted to them by way of reſtitution, or indemnification.

Nor, laſtly, was it ignorance of the obligations that ſubjects owe to government. Had not even the colonies acknowledged themſelves bound to contribute towards the payment of the national debt, though they had, perhaps, been the occaſion of contracting the greateſt part of it; they knew very well that they were liable to contribute towards the expences of the navy, the maintenance of the African and American ſettlements; and to all the common expenditures relative to their own preſervation and proſperity, as well as to that of the capital.

BOOK XVIII.

If the Americans refuse to lend their assistance to Europe, it is because what need only have been asked was exacted from them; and because what was required of them as a matter of obedience, ought to have been raised by voluntary contribution. Their refusal was not the effect of caprice, but of jealousy of their rights, which have been confirmed in some judicious writings, and more particularly in some eloquent letters, from which we shall borrow the principal facts we are going to state on a subject which must be interesting to every nation on the globe.

During almost two centuries that have passed since the English established themselves in North America, their country has been harrassed by expensive and bloody wars; thrown into confusion by enterprizing and turbulent parliaments; and governed by a bold and corrupt ministry, ever ready to raise the power of the crown upon the ruin of all the privileges and rights of the people. But notwithstanding the influence of ambition, avarice, faction, and tyranny, the liberty of the colonies to raise their own taxes for the support of the public revenue hath on all hands been acknowledged and regarded.

This privilege so natural and consonant to the fundamental principles of all rational society, was confirmed by a solemn compact. The colonies might appeal to their original charters, which authorize them to tax themselves freely and voluntarily. These acts were, in truth, nothing more than agreements made with the crown; but even supposing that the prince had exceeded his authority by making concessions which certainly did not turn to his advantage, long possession tacitly owned and acknowledged by the silence of parliament, must constitute a legal prescription.

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THE American provinces have ſtill more authentic claims to urge in their favour. They aſſert, that a ſubject of England, in whatever hemiſphere he reſides, is not obliged to contribute to the expences of the ſtate without his own conſent, given either by himſelf, or his repreſentatives. It is in the defence of this ſacred right that the nation has ſo often ſpilt her blood, dethroned her kings, and either excited or oppoſed numberleſs commotions. Will ſhe chuſe to diſpute with two millions of her children, an advantage which has coſt her ſo dear, and is, perhaps, the ſole foundation of her own independence?

IT is urged againſt the colonies, that the Roman catholics reſiding in England are excluded from the right of voting, and that their eſtates are ſubjected to a double tax. The coloniſts aſk in reply, why the papiſts refuſe to take the oath of allegiance required by the ſtate? This conduct makes them ſuſpected by government, and the jealouſy it excites, authoriſes that government to treat them with rigour. Why not abjure a religion ſo contrary to the free conſtitution of their country, ſo favourable to the inhuman claims of deſpotiſm, and to the attempts of the crown againſt the rights of the people? Why that blind prepoſſeſſion in favour of a church which is an enemy to all others? They deſerve the penalties which the ſtate that tolerates them impoſes upon ſubjects of intolerant principles. But the inhabitants of the new world would be puniſhed without having offended, if they were not able to become ſubjects without ceaſing to be Americans.

THESE faithful colonies have likewiſe been told with ſome confidence, that there are multitudes of ſubjects in England who are not repreſented; becauſe they have not the property required to intitle them to vote at an election

for

BOOK XVIII.

for members of parliament. What ground have they to expect any greater privileges than thoſe enjoyed by the ſubjects of the mother country? The colonies, in anſwer to this, deny that they wiſh for ſuperior indulgences; they only want to ſhare them in common with their brethren. In Great Britain a perſon who enjoys a freehold of forty ſhillings a year, is conſulted in the framing of a tax-bill, and ſhall not the man who poſſeſſes an immenſe tract of land in America have the ſame privilege? No. That which is an exception to a law, a deviation from the general rule of the mother country ought not to become a fundamental point of conſtitution for the colonies. Let the Engliſh who wiſh to deprive the provinces in America of the right of taxing themſelves, ſuppoſe for a moment, that the houſe of commons, inſtead of being choſen by them, is an hereditary and eſtabliſhed tribunal, or even arbitrarily appointed by the crown; if this body could levy taxes upon the whole nation without conſulting the public opinion, and the general inclinations of the people, would not the Engliſh look upon themſelves to be as much ſlaves as any other nation? However, even in this caſe, five hundred men, ſurrounded by ſeven millions of their fellow ſubjects, might be kept within the bounds of moderation, if not by a principle of equity, at leaſt, by a well-grounded apprehenſion of the public reſentment, which purſues the oppreſſors of their country even beyond the grave. But the caſe of Americans taxed by the great council of the mother country would be irremediable. At too great a diſtance to be heard, they would be oppreſſed with taxes without regard to their complaints. Even the tyranny exerciſed towards them would be varniſhed over with the glorious appellation of patriotiſm. Under pretence of relieving the mother country, the colonies would be over-burthened with impunity.

WITH

BOOK XVIII.

With this alarming proſpect before them, they will never ſubmit to give up the right of taxing themſelves. So long as they debate freely on the ſubject of public revenue, their intereſts will be attended to; or if their rights ſhould ſometimes be violated, they will ſoon obtain a redreſs of their grievances. But their remonſtrances will no longer have any weight with government, when they are not ſupported by the right of granting or refuſing money towards the exigencies of the ſtate. The ſame power which will have uſurped the right of levying taxes, will eaſily uſurp the diſtribution of them. As it dictates what proportion they ſhall raiſe, it will likewiſe dictate how that ſhall be laid out; and the ſums apparently deſigned for their ſervice, will be employed to enſlave them. Such has been the progreſſion of empires in all ages. No ſociety ever preſerved its liberty, after it had loſt the privilege of voting in the confirmation, or eſtabliſhment of laws, relative to the revenue. A nation muſt for ever be enſlaved, in which no aſſembly or body of men remains, who have the power to defend its rights againſt the encroachments of the ſtate by which it is governed.

Whether the colonies ſhould ſubmit to be taxed.

The provinces in Engliſh America have every reaſon imaginable to dread the loſs of their independence. Even their confidence may betray them, and make them fall a prey to the deſigns of the mother country. They are inhabited by an infinite number of honeſt and upright people, who have no ſuſpicion that thoſe who hold the reins of empire can be hurried away by unjuſt and tyrannical paſſions. They take it for granted that their country cheriſhes thoſe ſentiments of maternal tenderneſs which are ſo conſonant to her true intereſts, and to the love and veneration which they entertain for her. To the unſuſpecting credulity of theſe honeſt ſubjects, who cheriſh ſo agreeable a deluſion, may be added the acquieſcence of thoſe

BOOK XVIII.

those who think it not worth while to trouble their repose on account of inconsiderable taxes. These indolent people do not perceive that the plan was, at first, to lull their vigilance asleep by imposing a moderate duty; that England only wanted to establish an example of submission, upon which it might ground future pretensions; that if the parliament has been able to raise one guinea, it can raise ten thousand; and that there will be no more reason to limit this right, than there would be justice in acknowledging it at present. But the greatest injury to liberty arises from a set of ambitious men, who pursuing an interest distinct from that of the public and of posterity, are wholly bent on increasing their credit, their rank, and their estates. The British ministry, from whom they have procured employments, or expect to receive them, finds them always ready to favour their odious projects, by the contagion of their luxury and their vices; by their artful insinuations, and the flexibility of their conduct.

Let all true patriots then firmly oppose the snares of prejudice, indolence, and seduction; nor let them despair of being victorious in a contest in which their virtue has engaged them. Attempts will, perhaps, be made to shake their fidelity, by the plausible proposal of allowing their representatives a seat in parliament, in order to regulate, in conjunction with those of the mother country, the taxes to be raised by the nation at large. Such, indeed, is the extent, populousness, wealth, and importance of the colonies, that the legislature cannot govern them with wisdom and safety without availing itself of the advice and information of their representatives. But care should be taken not to authorise these deputies to decide in matters concerning the fortune and the contributions of their constituents. The expostulations of a few men would be easily overborne by the numerous representatives

preſentatives of the mother country; and the provinces, whoſe inſtruments they would be, would, in this confuſed jumble of intereſts and opinions, be laden with too heavy and too unequal a part of the common burthen. Let then the right of appointing, proportioning and raiſing the taxes continue to be excluſively veſted in the provincial aſſemblies; who ought to be the more jealous of it at the preſent juncture, as the power of depriving them of it ſeems to have gained ſtrength by the conqueſts made in the laſt war.

FROM its late acquiſitions, the mother country has derived the advantage of extending her fiſheries, and ſtrengthening her alliance with the ſavages. But as if this ſucceſs paſſed for nothing in her eſtimation, ſhe perſiſts in declaring, that this increaſe of territory has anſwered no end, and produced no effect but to ſecure the tranquillity of the colonies. The colonies, on the contrary, maintain, that their lands, on which their whole welfare depended, have decreaſed conſiderably in their value by this immenſe extent of territory; that their population being diminiſhed, or, at leaſt, not increaſed, their country is the more expoſed to invaſions; and that the moſt northern provinces are rivalled by Canada, and the moſt ſouthern by Florida. The coloniſts, who judge of future events by the hiſtory of the paſt, even go ſo far as to ſay, that the military government eſtabliſhed in the conquered provinces; the numerous troops maintained, and the forts erected there, may one day contribute to enſlave countries, which have hitherto flouriſhed only upon the principles of liberty.

GREAT BRITAIN poſſeſſes all the authority over her colonies that ſhe ought to wiſh for. She has a right to diſannul any laws they ſhall make. The executive power is entirely lodged in the hands of her delegates: and in all

BOOK XVIII.

all determinations of a civil nature, an appeal lies to her tribunal. She regulates at diſcretion all commercial connections, which are allowed to be formed and purſued by the coloniſts. To ſtrain an authority ſo wiſely tempered, would be to plunge a riſing continent afreſh into that ſtate of confuſion from which it had with difficulty emerged in the courſe of two centuries of inceſſant labour; and to reduce the men, who had laboured to clear the ground, to the neceſſity of taking up arms in the defence of thoſe ſacred rights to which they are equally intitled by nature, and the laws of ſociety. Shall the Engliſh, who are ſo paſſionately fond of liberty, that they have ſometimes protected it in regions widely remote in climate and intereſt, forget thoſe ſentiments, which their glory, their virtue, their natural feelings, and their ſecurity conſpire to render a perpetual obligation? Shall they ſo far betray the rights they hold ſo dear, as to wiſh to enſlave their brethren and their children? If, however, it ſhould happen that the ſpirit of faction ſhould deviſe ſo fatal a deſign, and ſhould, in an hour of madneſs and intoxication, get it patronized by the mother country; what ſteps ought the colonies to take to ſave themſelves from the ſtate of the moſt odious dependence?

How far the colonies ought to carry their oppoſition to Taxation.

BEFORE they turn their eyes on this political combuſtion, they will recall to memory all the advantages they owe to their country. England has always been their barrier againſt the powerful nations of Europe: and ſerved as a guide and moderator to watch over their preſervation, and to heal thoſe civil diſſentions, which jealouſy and rivalſhip too frequently excite between neighbouring plantations in their riſing ſtate. It is to the influence of its excellent conſtitution that they owe the peace and proſperity they enjoy. While the colonies live under ſo ſalutary

ſalutary and mild an adminiſtration, they will continue to make a rapid progreſs in the vaſt field of improvement that opens itſelf to their view, and which their induſtry will extend to the remoteſt deſerts.

Let the love of their country, however, be accompanied with a certain jealouſy of their liberties; and let their rights be conſtantly examined into, cleared up, and diſcuſſed. Let them never fail to conſider thoſe as the beſt citizens, who are perpetually calling their attention to thoſe points. This ſpirit of jealouſy is proper in all free ſtates; but it is particularly neceſſary in complicated governments, where liberty is blended with a certain degree of dependence, ſuch as is required in a connection between countries ſeparated by an immenſe ocean. This vigilance will be the ſureſt guardian of the union which ought ſtrongly to cement the mother country and her colonies.

If the miniſtry which is always compoſed of ambitious men, even in a free ſtate, ſhould attempt to increaſe the power of the crown, or the opulence of the mother-country, at the expence of the colonies, the colonies ought to reſiſt ſuch an uſurping power with unremitted ſpirit. When any meaſure of government meets with a warm oppoſition, it ſeldom fails to be rectified; while grievances, which are ſuffered for want of courage to redreſs them, are conſtantly ſucceeded by freſh inſtances of oppreſſion. Nations, in general, are more apt to feel, than to reflect; and have no other ideas of the legality of a power than the very exerciſe of that power. Accuſtomed to obey without examination, they in general, become familiarized to the hardſhips of government; and being ignorant of the origin and deſign of ſociety, do not conceive the idea of ſetting bounds to authority. In thoſe ſtates eſpecially, where the principles of legiſla-

BOOK XVIII.

tion are confounded with thoſe of religion, as one extravagant opinion opens a door for the reception of a thouſand among thoſe who have been once deceived; ſo the firſt encroachments of government pave the way for all the reſt. He who believes the moſt, believes the leaſt; and he who can perform the moſt, performs the leaſt: and to this double miſtake in regard either to belief or power, it is owing that all the abſurdities and ill practices in religion and politics have been introduced into the world, in order to oppreſs the human ſpecies. The ſpirit of toleration and of liberty, which has hitherto prevailed in the Engliſh colonies, has happily preſerved them from falling into this extreme of folly and miſery. They have too high a ſenſe of the dignity of human nature not to reſiſt oppreſſion, though at the hazard of their lives.

A people ſo intelligent do not want to be told that deſperate reſolutions and violent meaſures cannot be juſtifiable, till they have in vain tried every poſſible method of reconciliation. But at the ſame time, they know that if they are reduced to the neceſſity of chuſing ſlavery or war, and taking arms in defence of their liberty, they ought not to tarniſh ſo glorious a cauſe with all the horrors and cruelties attendant on ſedition: and tho' reſolved not to ſheath the ſword till they have recovered their rights; that they ſhould make no other uſe of their victory than to procure the re-eſtabliſhment of their original ſtate of legal independence.

Let us, however, take care not to confound the reſiſtance which the Engliſh colonies ought to make to their mother country, with the fury of a people excited to revolt againſt their ſovereign by a long ſeries of exceſſive oppreſſion. When the ſlaves of an arbitrary monarch have once broken their chain, and ſubmitted their fate to the deciſion of the ſword, they are obliged to maſſacre

maſſacre the tyrant, to exterminate his whole race, and to change the form of that government, under which they have ſuffered for many ages. If they venture not thus far, they will ſooner or later be puniſhed for having been courageous only by halves. The blow will be retorted upon them with greater force than ever; and the affected clemency of their tyrants will only prove a new ſnare, in which they will be caught and entangled without hope of deliverance. It is the misfortune of factions in an abſolute government, that neither prince nor people ſet any bounds to their reſentment; becauſe they know none in the exerciſe of their power. But a conſtitution qualified like that of the Engliſh colonies, carries in its principles and the limitation of its power, a remedy and preſervative againſt the evils of anarchy. When the mother country has removed their complaints by reinſtating them in their former ſituation, they ought to proceed no further: becauſe ſuch a ſituation is the happieſt that a wiſe people have a right to aſpire to.

Whether it would be of uſe to the colonies to break thro' the ties which unite them to the mother-country.

THEY could not embrace a plan of abſolute independence, without breaking through the ties of religion, oaths, laws, language, relation, intereſt, trade and habit which unite them together under the mild authority of the mother country. Is it to be imagined that ſuch an avulſion would not affect the heart, the vitals, and even the life of the colonies? If they ſhould ſtop ſhort of the violence of civil wars, would they eaſily be brought to agree upon a new form of government? If each ſettlement compoſed a diſtinct ſtate, what diviſions would enſue! We may judge of the animoſities that would ariſe from their ſeparation by the fate of all communities which nature has made to border on each other. But could it be ſuppoſed that ſo many ſettlements where a diverſity of laws, different degrees of opulence, and variety of poſſeſſions

BOOK XVIII.

would ſow the latent ſeeds of an oppoſition of intereſts, were deſirous of forming a confederacy; how would they adjuſt the rank which each would aſpire to hold, and the influence it ought to have in proportion to the riſque it incurred, and the forces it ſupplied? Would not the ſame ſpirit of jealouſy and a thouſand other paſſions, which in a ſhort time divided the wiſe ſtates of Greece, raiſe diſcord between a multitude of colonies aſſociated rather by the tranſient and brittle ties of paſſion and reſentment, than by the ſober principles of a natural and laſting combination? All theſe conſiderations ſeem to demonſtrate, that an eternal ſeparation from the mother country would prove a very great misfortune to the Engliſh colonies.

Whether it would be proper for the European nations to endeavour to render the Engliſh colonies independent of the mother country?

We will go one ſtep further, and affirm that were it in the power of the European nations who have poſſeſſions in the new world to effect this great revolution, it is not their intereſt to wiſh it. This will, perhaps, be thought a paradox by thoſe powers, who ſee their colonies perpetually threatened with an invaſion from their neighbours. They, doubtleſs, imagine that if the power of the Engliſh in America were leſſened, they ſhould peaceably enjoy their acquiſitions which frequently excite their envy, and invite them to hoſtilities. It cannot be denied that their influence in theſe diſtant regions ariſes from the extent or populouſneſs of their northern provinces; which enable them always to attack with advantage the iſlands and continental poſſeſſions of other nations, to conquer their territories, or ruin their trade. But, after all, this crown has intereſts in other parts of the globe which may counter-act their progreſs in America, reſtrain or retard their enterprizes, and fruſtrate their conqueſts by the reſtitutions they will be obliged to make.

When the ties ſubſiſting between old and new Britain are once broken, the northern colonies will have more

power

power when ſingle, than when united with the mother country. This great continent, freed from all connections with Europe, will have the full command of all its motions. It will then become an important, as well as an eaſy undertaking to them, to invade thoſe territories, whoſe riches will make amends for the ſcantineſs of their productions. By the independent nature of its ſituation it will be enabled to get every thing in readineſs for an invaſion, before any account arrives in Europe. This nation will carry on their military operations with the ſpirit peculiar to new ſocieties. They may make choice of their enemies, and conquer where and when they pleaſe. Their attacks will always be made upon ſuch coaſts as are liable to be taken by ſurpriſe, and upon thoſe ſeas that are leaſt guarded by foreign powers: who will find the countries they wiſhed to defend conquered before any ſuccours can arrive. It will be impoſſible to recover them by treaty, without making great conceſſions, or, when recovered for a time, to prevent their falling again under the ſame yoke. The colonies belonging to our abſolute monarchies, will, perhaps, be inclined to meet a maſter with open arms, who cannot propoſe harder terms than their own government impoſes; or after the example of the Engliſh colonies, will break the chain that rivets them ſo ignominiouſly to Europe.

Let no motive by any means prevail upon the nations who are rivals to England, either by inſinuations, or by clandeſtine helps, to haſten a revolution, which would only deliver them from a neighbouring enemy, by giving them a much more formidable one at a diſtance. Why accelerate an event which muſt one day naturally take place from the unavoidable concurrence of ſo many others? For it would be contrary to the nature of things, if the province, ſubject to a preſiding nation, ſhould continue

BOOK XVIII.

under its dominion, when equal to it in riches, and the number of inhabitants. Or, indeed, who can tell whether this diſunion may not happen ſooner? Is it not likely that the diſtruſt and hatred which has of late taken place of that regard and attachment which the provinces formerly felt for the parent country, may bring on a ſeparation? Thus every thing conſpires to produce this great diſruption, the æra of which it is impoſſible to know. Every thing tends to this point: the progreſs of good in the new hemiſphere, and the progreſs of evil in the old.

Alas! the ſudden and rapid decline in our manners and our powers, the crimes of princes, and the ſufferings of the people, will make this fatal cataſtrophe, which is to divide one part of the globe from the other, univerſal. The foundations of our tottering empires are ſapped; materials are hourly collecting and preparing for their deſtruction, compoſed of the ruins of our laws, the ferment of contending opinions, and the ſubverſion of our rights, which were the foundation of our courage; the luxury of our courts, and the miſeries of the country; the laſting animoſity between indolent men who engroſs all the wealth, and vigorous and even virtuous men, who have nothing to loſe but their lives. In proportion as our people are weakened and reſign themſelves to each other's dominion, population and agriculture will flouriſh in America: the arts, tranſplanted by our means, will make a rapid progreſs: and that country riſing out of nothing, will be fired with the ambition of appearing with glory in its turn on the face of the globe, and in the hiſtory of the world. O poſterity! ye, peradventure, will be more happy than your unfortunate and contemptible anceſtors. May this laſt wiſh be accompliſhed, and conſole the preſent expiring race with the hopes that a better will

will ſucceed it! But leaving future times to themſelves, let us take a view of the reſult of three memorable ages. Having ſeen in the beginning of this work the ſtate of miſery and ignorance in which Europe was involved in the infancy of America; let us examine to what ſtate the conqueſt of the new world has led and invited the conquerors on the other ſide of the globe. This was the deſign of a book undertaken with the hopes of being uſeful: if the end is anſwered, the author will have diſcharged his duty to the age he lives in, and to ſociety.

END OF THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK.

BOOK XIX.

IN the firſt part of this work we began by endeavouring to deſcribe the ſtate of commerce in Europe before the diſcovery of the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies. We then proceeded to trace the ſlow, difficult and tyrannical progreſs of the ſettlements formed in thoſe diſtant regions. The work will be completed, if we can now determine the influence which the connections of the new world have had over the morals, government, arts and opinions of the old. Let us begin with religion.

Religion. RELIGION in man is the effect of a ſenſe of his misfortunes, and of the fear of inviſible powers.

MOST legiſlators have availed themſelves of this diſpoſition to govern the people, and ſtill more to enſlave them. Some of them have aſſerted that they held the rights of command from heaven itſelf, and it is thus that theocracy has been eſtabliſhed.

IF the religion of the Jews has had a more ſublime origin, it has not been totally exempt from the inconveniences which the ambition of the prieſts neceſſarily introduces in a theocratic government.

CHRISTIANITY ſucceeded the Jewiſh inſtitution. The ſubjection of a republic, that was miſtreſs of the world, to a ſet of horrid tyrants; the dreadful miſeries, which the

the luxury of the court and the maintenance of the armies ſcattered throughout this vaſt empire of the Neros; the ſucceſſive irruptions of the barbarians, who diſmembered this great body; the loſs of the provinces which either revolted, or were invaded: all theſe natural evils had already prepared the minds of men for a new religion, and the revolutions of politics would neceſſarily have induced an innovation in the form of worſhip. In paganiſm, now grown old, nothing was to be ſeen but the fables to which it owed its origin, the folly or the vices of its gods, the avarice of its prieſts, and the infamy and irregularities of the kings who ſupported them. Then the people finding none but their tyrants upon earth, began to look up to heaven for protection.

CHRISTIANITY came to comfort them, and to teach them to ſuffer with patience. While the oppreſſions and licentiouſneſs of the throne were ſapping the foundations of paganiſm, together with thoſe of the empire, the ſubjects, who had been oppreſſed and ſpoiled, and who had embraced the new doctrines, were completing this ruin by the examples they gave of thoſe virtues which always accompany the zeal of new-made proſelytes. But a religion that aroſe in the midſt of public calamity muſt neceſſarily give its preachers a conſiderable influence over the unfortunate perſons who took refuge in it. Thus the power of the clergy commenced at the very origin of the goſpel.

FROM the remains of pagan ſuperſtitions and philoſophic ſects, a code of rites and tenets was formed, which the ſimplicity of the primitive chriſtians ſanctified with real and affecting piety; but which at the ſame time left the ſeeds of debates and controverſies, from whence aroſe a variety of paſſions diſguiſed under and dignified with the name of zeal. Theſe diſſentions produced ſchools,

BOOK XIX.

ſchools, doctors, a tribunal, and an hierarchy. The eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity had been begun by a ſet of fiſhermen, who knew nothing but the goſpel; it was completed by biſhops who formed the church. After this it gained ground by degrees, till at length it became known to the emperors. Some of theſe tolerated chriſtianity either from motives of contempt or humanity; others perſecuted it. Perſecution haſtened its progreſs, to which toleration had paved the way. Silence and proſcription, clemency and rigour were all equally advantageous to it. The ſenſe of freedom ſo natural to the human mind, induced many perſons to embrace it in its infancy, as it has made others reject it ſince it has been eſtabliſhed. This ſpirit of independence leſs attracted by truth than by novelty, would neceſſarily have brought in a multitude of followers of all ranks, if even the characters it was ſtamped with had not been fit to inſpire veneration and reſpect.

CONSTANTINE, inſtead of uniting the crown to the prieſthood when he was converted to chriſtianity, as they were joined in the perſons of the pagan emperors, granted to the clergy ſuch a ſhare of wealth and ſo much authority, and ſupplied them with ſo many means of future aggrandizement, that theſe blind conceſſions produced an eccleſiaſtical deſpotiſm, which in proceſs of time became intolerable.

THIS deſpotiſm was carried to its higheſt pitch, when a part of Europe ſhook off the yoke. A monk withdrew from it almoſt all Germany; a prieſt one half of France; and a king one half of England for the ſake of a woman. In other ſtates, many men of bold minds gave up the tenets of chriſtianity, and the moſt virtuous among them, preſerved only a kind of attachment to the purity of its morals, though they conformed externally to what was en-

enjoined them by the laws of the ſociety in which they lived.

This mode of thinking will never become general and popular, unleſs the magiſtrate, who ſhould be the proper inſpector of every thing that is of ſuch public notoriety as to influence the police, ſhould put his original rights in force. Doctrines either for theory or practice are for this reaſon ſubject to the influence of government; whoſe power, as well as duty, is however confined to the reſtraing of every thing that is injurious to the happineſs of the community, and to the permitting of every thing that does not diſturb the peace and union of mankind.

All ſtates ought to have nearly the ſame moral code of religion, and leave the reſt, not to be diſputed between men, becauſe that ought to be prevented whenever public tranquillity is diſturbed by it, but to the impulſe of every man's conſcience, thus allowing divines as well as philoſophers an entire freedom of thinking. This unlimited toleration, with regard to all tenets and opinions that ſhould not affect the moral code of nations, would be the only method of preventing or ſapping the foundations of that power, whether ſpiritual or temporal, which the clergy aſſume; and which, in proceſs of time, make them become a formidable body to the ſtate; this is the only way to extinguiſh inſenſibly the enthuſiaſm of the clergy, and the fanaticiſm of the people.

It is partly to the diſcovery of the new world that we ſhall owe that religious toleration which ought to be, and certainly will be introduced in the old. Perſecution would only haſten the downfall of the religions that are now eſtabliſhed. Induſtry and underſtanding have now prevailed among the nations, and gained an influence that muſt reſtore a certain equilibrium in the moral and civil order of ſociety: the human mind is undeceived with

BOOK XIX.

with regard to its former ſuperſtition. If we do not avail ourſelves of this inſtant to re-eſtabliſh the empire of reaſon, it muſt neceſſarily be given up to freſh ſuſpicions.

EVERY thing has concurred for theſe two centuries paſt to exhauſt that fury of zeal that devoured the earth. The depredations of the Spaniards throughout America, have ſhewn the world to what exceſs fanaticiſm may be carried. In eſtabliſhing their religion by fire and ſword through ravaged and depopulated countries, they have made it odious in Europe; and their cruelties have ſeparated a greater number of catholics from the church of Rome, than they have made chriſtians among the Indians. The concourſe of perſons of all ſects in North America, has neceſſarily ſpread the ſpirit of toleration at a diſtance, and relieved our climates from religious wars. The ſending of miſſionaries has delivered us from thoſe turbulent men, who might have inflamed our country, and who are gone to carry the firebrands and ſwords of the goſpel beyond the ſeas. Navigation and long voyages have inſenſibly detached a great number of the people from the extravagant ideas of ſuperſtition. The variety of religious worſhips, and the difference of nations, has accuſtomed the moſt vulgar minds to a ſort of indifference for the object that had the greateſt influence over their imaginations. The carrying on of trade between perſons of the moſt oppoſite ſects, has leſſened the religious hatred that was the cauſe of their diviſions. It has been found that morality and integrity are not inconſiſtent with any opinions whatever, and that irregularity of manners and avarice are equally prevalent every where; and hence it has been concluded that the manners of men have been regulated by the variety of climate and of government, and by ſocial and national intereſt.

SINCE

SINCE the intercourſe has been eſtabliſhed between the two hemiſpheres of this world, our thoughts have been leſs engaged about that other world, which was the hope of the few, and the torment of the many. The diverſity and multiplicity of objects that induſtry hath preſented to the mind and to the ſenſes, has divided the attachments of men, and weakened the power of every ſentiment. Characters have been ſoftened, and the ſpirit of fanaticiſm muſt neceſſarily have been extinguiſhed as well as that of chivalry, and with them all thoſe ſtriking extravagancies that have prevailed among people that were indolent and unemployed. The ſame cauſes that have produced this revolution of manners, have exerted their influence on governments with ſtill greater rapidity.

Government.

SOCIETY naturally reſults from population, and government is a part of the ſocial ſtate. From conſidering the few wants that men have, in proportion to the reſources that nature affords them; the little aſſiſtance and happineſs they find in the civil ſtate, in compariſon of the pains and evils they accumulate in it; their inſtinct for independence and liberty, common to them with all other living beings; together with a number of reaſons drawn from their natural conſtruction: from conſidering all theſe things, it has been doubted, whether ſociability was ſo natural to mankind as it has generally been thought to be.

BUT on the other hand, the helpleſſneſs and duration of man's infancy; the nakedneſs of his body not covered either with hair or feathers; the tendency of his mind to perfection, the neceſſary conſequence of the length of his life; maternal fondneſs which is increaſed by cares and fatigues, which after it has carried the child in the womb for nine months, ſuckles it and bears it in its arms for whole

BOOK XIX.

whole years; the reciprocal attachment arising from this habit between two beings that relieve and careſs each other; the numerous marks of intercourſe in an organization, that adds to the accents of the voice, common to ſo many animals, the language of the fingers and of geſtures that are peculiar to the human race; natural events which in a hundred different ways may bring together, or re-unite wandering and free individuals; accidents and unforeſeen wants which oblige them to meet for the purpoſes of hunting, fiſhing, or even of defence; in a word, the example of ſo many creatures that live in herds, ſuch as amphibious animals and ſea monſters, flights of cranes and other birds, even inſects that are found in columns and in ſwarms: all theſe facts and reaſonings ſeem to prove, that man by his nature tends to ſociability, and that he reaches that end ſo much the more ſpeedily, as he cannot populate much under the torrid zone, without being collected into wandering or ſedentary tribes, nor ſpread himſelf much under the other zones, without aſſociating with his fellow-creatures, for the prey and the ſpoils which the wants of food and clothing require.

From the neceſſity of aſſociation, ariſes that of eſtabliſhing laws relative to the ſocial ſtate: that is to ſay, of forming by a combination of all common and particular inſtincts, one general combination, that ſhall maintain the collective body and the majority of individuals. For if nature directs man to his fellow creature, it is undoubtedly by a conſequence of that univerſal attraction, which tends to the reproduction and preſervation of the ſpecies. All the propenſities which man brings with him into ſociety, and all the impreſſions he receives in it, ought to be ſubordinate to this firſt impulſe. To live and to propagate, being the deſtination of every living ſpecies, it ſhould

ſhould ſeem that ſociability, if it be one of the firſt principles of man, ſhould concur in aſſiſting this double end of nature; and that inſtinct which leads him to the ſocial ſtate, ſhould neceſſarily direct all moral and political laws, ſo as that they ſhould be more durable, and contribute more to the happineſs of the majority of mankind. Nevertheleſs, if we conſider merely the effect, we ſhould think that the principle or ſupreme law of all ſociety has been *to ſecure the reigning power*. From whence can ariſe this ſingular contraſt between the end and the means, between the laws of nature and thoſe of politics? The following is the only anſwer that occurs to this queſtion. It is chance that firſt lays the plan of governments, and reaſon that improves them. Upon this principle, let us examine the nature of the governments that have brought Europe to its preſent ſtate of policy.

ALL the foundations of a ſociety exiſting are loſt by ſome cataſtrophe, or natural revolution. In all parts we ſee men driven away by ſubterraneous fires, or by war; by inundations, or by devouring inſects; by dearth, or by famine; and joining again in ſome uninhabited corner of the earth, or diſperſing and ſpreading themſelves in places already peopled. Police always begins by plunder, and order ariſes from anarchy.

THE Hebrews, who were forced by the plagues of Egypt to remove into Arabia Petræa, were, at leaſt, forty years in forming themſelves into a body of troops, before they proceeded to ravage Paleſtine, in order to eſtabliſh themſelves there as a nation.

THE ſtates of Greece were founded by plunderers, who deſtroyed ſome monſters, and a great number of men in order to become kings.

ROME, it is ſaid, was formed from the remaining people eſcaped from the flames of Troy, or was nothing more

BOOK XIX.

more than a ſet of banditti from Greece and Italy: but from this ſcum of the human race, aroſe a generation of heroes.

WAR, which, of the great nations of Europe, had only formed the Roman empire, made theſe very Romans who were ſo numerous become barbarians again. As the diſpoſitions and manners of the conquering people are almoſt always impreſſed upon the conquered, thoſe who had been enlightened with the knowledge of Rome in its learned ſtate, now ſank again into the blindneſs of ſtupid and ferocious Scythians. During ages of ignorance, when ſuperior ſtrength always gave the law, and chance or hunger had opened the regions of the ſouth to the forces of the north, the continual ſucceſſion of various emigrations prevented the laws from being ſettled in any place. As a multitude of ſmall nations had deſtroyed a large one, many chiefs or tyrants divided each vaſt monarchy into ſeveral tenures. The people, who gained nothing by the government of one, or of ſeveral men, were always oppreſſed and trampled upon in this diviſion of feudal anarchy. Little wars were continually kept up between neighbouring towns, inſtead of theſe great wars that now prevail between nations.

THIS continual ferment, however, induced all nations to eſtabliſh themſelves in a kind of form, or conſiſtence. Kings were deſirous of raiſing themſelves upon the ruins of thoſe men, or of thoſe powerful bodies, by whom the commotions were kept up; and to effect this, they had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the people. They were civilized, poliſhed, and more rational laws were given them than they had hitherto had. Slavery had depreſſed their natural vigour, and property reſtored it again; and commerce which prevailed after the diſcovery of the new world,

world, increaſed all their powers, by exciting univerſal emulation. BOOK XIX.

To theſe general agitations another was added. The monarchs could not have increaſed their own power, without leſſening that of the clergy, and without encouraging or preparing the way for the diſcredit of religious opinions. All innovators who ventured to attack the church, were ſupported by the throne. From that time, the human underſtanding was ſtrengthened by exerting itſelf againſt the phantoms of imagination, and recovering the path of nature and of reaſon, diſcovered the true principle of government. Luther and Columbus appeared; the whole univerſe trembled, and all Europe was in commotion: but this ſtorm cleared up its horizon for ages to come. One of theſe perſons awakened the underſtandings of all men, the other, excited their activity. Since they have opened all the paths of induſtry and freedom, moſt of the European nations labour with ſome ſucceſs in correcting or improving legiſlation, upon which the felicity of mankind depends.

Nevertheless this enlightened ſpirit has not yet reached the Turks. They have ever preſerved a faithful attachment to the maxims of Aſiatic deſpotiſm. The ſcimitar, at Conſtantinople, is ſtill the interpreter of the Coran. Though the Grand Signior may not be ſeen coming in and going out of the Seraglio, like the tyrant of Morocco, with a bloody head in his hand, yet a numerous body of ſatellites is engaged in the atchievement of theſe horrid murders. The people maſſacred by their ruler, aſſaſſinate the executioner in their turn; but ſatisfied with this temporary vengeance, they think not of providing for their ſafety in future, or for the happineſs of their poſterity. It is too much trouble for orientaliſts to endeavour to aſſure the public ſafety by laws, which

BOOK XIX.

it is a laborious task to form, to settle, and to preserve. If their tyrants carry their oppressions or cruelties too far, the head of the vizir is demanded, that of the despot is struck off, and thus all is set to rights. The janissaries make use of no other remonstrance. Even the most powerful men in the kingdom are strangers to the first idea of the rights of nations. As personal safety in Turkey belongs only to people of a mean and abject condition, the chief families pride themselves in the very danger they are exposed to from the government. A Bashaw will tell you, that such a man as he is, is not destined, like an obscure person, to finish his days quietly in his bed. One may frequently see widows, whose husbands have been just strangled, exulting that they have been destroyed in a manner suitable to their rank.

The Russians and the Danes do not entertain the same prejudices, though they are subject to a power equally arbitrary; because these nations have the advantage of a more tolerable administration, and of some written laws. They can venture to think, or even to say that their government is limited, but they have never been able to persuade any sensible man that it was. While the sovereign makes and annuls the laws, extends or restrains them, and permits or suspends the execution of them at pleasure; while the indulgence of his passions is the only rule of his conduct; while he is the only, the central being to whom every thing tends; while nothing is either right or wrong but what he makes so; while his caprice is the law, and his favour the standard of public esteem; if this is not despotism, what other kind of government can it possibly be?

In such a state of degradation, what are men? They hardly dare turn their constrained looks up to the skies. They want both knowledge to discern their chains, and

spirit

ſpirit to feel the ſhame of them. The powers of their minds extinguiſhed by the oppreſſions of ſlavery, have not ſufficient force to ſeize upon the rights inſeparable from their exiſtence. It may be a matter of doubt whether theſe ſlaves are not as culpable as their tyrants; and whether the ſpirit of liberty has more reaſon to complain of the inſolence of thoſe who infringe upon her rights, than of the imbecility of others, who know not how to defend them.

YET many people will aſſert that the moſt happy form of government would be that of a juſt and enlightened deſpotic prince. The abſurdity of this is evident; for it might eaſily happen that the will of this abſolute monarch might be in direct oppoſition to the will of his ſubjects. In that caſe, notwithſtanding all his juſtice and all his abilities, he would be in the wrong to deprive them of their rights, even though it were for their own benefit. No man whatſoever, let him be who he will, is entitled to treat his fellow-creatures like ſo many beaſts. Beaſts may be compelled to leave a bad paſture, and driven into a richer; but the ſame kind of compulſion uſed with a ſet of men would be an act of tyranny. If they ſhould ſay, that they are very well where they are, or even if they ſhould agree in ſaying that their ſituation is a bad one, but that it is their will and pleaſure to ſtay in it, we may endeavour to teach them, to undeceive them, and to bring them to ſounder notions by the means of perſuaſion, but never by thoſe of compulſion. The beſt of princes, who ſhould even have done good, againſt the general conſent of his people, would be culpable, if it were only becauſe he had gone beyond his right. He would be culpable not only for the time, but even with regard to poſterity: for though he may be juſt and enlightened, yet his ſucceſſor without inheriting either his abilities or his

BOOK XIX.

virtues, will certainly inherit his authority, of which the nation will become the victim. Let not, therefore, these pretended masters of the people be allowed even to do good against the general consent. Let it be considered that the condition of these rulers is not in the least different from that of the cacique, who being asked whether he had any slaves, answered; *Slaves? I know but one slave in all my district, and that is myself.*

Between Russia and Denmark, Sweden is situated. Let us examine the history of its constitution, and endeavour if possible to find out the nature of it.

Nations that are poor are almost necessarily warlike; because their very poverty, the burthen of which is perpetually grievous to them, inspires them sooner or later with a desire of getting rid of it; and this desire, in process of time, becomes the general spirit of the nation, and the spring of the government.

It only requires a succession of sovereigns fortunate in war, to change suddenly the government of such a country from the state of a mild monarchy, to that of the most absolute despotism. The monarch proud of his triumphs thinks every thing may be allowed him, begins to acknowledge no law but his will; and his soldiers whom he hath led so often to victory, being ready to serve him in all things and against all men, become by their attachment to the prince the terror of their fellow-citizens. The people, on the other hand, will not venture to refuse chains that are offered to them by him, who, to the authority of his rank joins that which he holds from their admiration and gratitude.

The yoke imposed by the monarch who has conquered the enemies of the state, is certainly burthensome; but the subjects dare not shake it off. It even grows heavier under successors who have not the same claim to their indulgence.

dulgence. Whenever any conſiderable reverſe of fortune takes place, the deſpot will be left to the mercy of his people. Then, the people irritated by their long ſufferings, ſeldom fail to avail themſelves of the opportunity of recovering their rights. But as they have neither views nor plans, they change inſtantaneouſly from a ſtate of ſlavery to that of anarchy. In the midſt of this general tumult one exclamation only is heard, and that is liberty. But as they know not how to ſecure to themſelves this ineſtimable benefit; the nation becomes immediately divided into various factions, which are guided by different intereſts.

If there be one among theſe factions, that deſpairs of prevailing over the reſt, that faction ſeparates itſelf unmindful of the general good: and being more anxious to prejudice its rivals than to ſerve its country, it takes the part of the ſovereign. From that moment there are but two parties in the ſtate, diſtinguiſhed by two different names, which, whatever they be, never mean any thing more than royaliſts and antiroyaliſts. This is the period of great commotions and conſpiracies.

The neighbouring powers then act the ſame part they have ever acted at all times and in all countries upon ſimilar occaſions. They foment jealouſies between the people and their prince; they ſuggeſt to the ſubjects every poſſible method of debaſing, degrading and annihilating the ſovereignty; they corrupt even thoſe who are neareſt the throne; they occaſion ſome adminiſtration to be adopted prejudicial both to the whole body of the nation, which they impoveriſh under pretence of exerting themſelves for their liberty; and injurious to the ſovereign, whoſe prerogative they reduce to nothing.

Then the monarch meets with as many authorities oppoſed to his, as there are ranks in the ſtate. Then,

BOOK XIX.

his will is nothing without their concurrence. Then, he must call meetings, propose and debate upon things of the least importance. Then, tutors are given to him as to an ignorant scholar; and he may be assured that those tutors are men very ill-disposed towards him.

But what is then the state of the nation? The neighbouring powers have now, by their influence, thrown every thing into confusion; they have overturned the state, or seduced all the members of it, by bribery or intrigues. There is now but one party in the kingdom, and that is the party of the stranger. The members of the factions are all pretenders. Attachment to the king is an hypocrisy, and aversion for monarchy another. They are two different marks of ambition and avarice. The whole nation is now a collection of infamous and venal men.

It is not difficult to conceive what must happen after this. The foreign powers that had corrupted the nation must be deceived in their expectations. They did not perceive that they carried matters too far; that, perhaps, they might even have been acting in a manner very different from that which a deeper policy would have suggested; that they were destroying the power of the nation, while their efforts only kept that of the sovereign in subjection; that this power of the monarch, which might one day exert itself with all its force, would meet with no resistance capable of checking it; and that this unexpected effect might be brought about in an instant, and by one man.

That instant is come; that man has appeared: and all these base creatures of adverse powers prostrated themselves before him. He told these men, who thought themselves all powerful, that they were nothing. He told them, I am your master; and they declared unanimously that he was. He told them: these

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are the conditions to which I would have you ſubmit; and they anſwered, we agree to them. Scarce one diſſenting voice was heard amongſt them. It is impoſſible for any man to know what will be the conſequence of this revolution. If the maſter will avail himſelf of the circumſtances, Sweden will not have been governed by a more abſolute monarch. If he is prudent; if he underſtands that an unlimited ſovereign can have no ſubjects, becauſe he can have no perſons under him poſſeſſed of property; and that authority can only be exerted over thoſe who have ſome kind of property; the nation may, perhaps, recover its original character. Whatever may be his deſigns or his inclinations, Sweden cannot poſſibly be more unhappy than ſhe was before.

POLAND, which has none but ſlaves within, and, therefore, deſerves to meet with none but oppreſſors from without; ſtill preſerves, however, the ſhadow and the name of liberty. This kingdom is ſtill, at preſent, no better than all the European ſtates were ten centuries ago, ſubject to an ariſtocracy, which elects a king, in order to make him ſubſervient to their will. Each nobleman, by virtue of his feudal tenure, which he preſerves with his ſword, as his anceſtors acquired it, holds a perſonal and hereditary authority over his vaſſals. The feudal government prevails there in all the force of its primitive inſtitution. It is an empire compoſed of as many ſtates as there are lands. All the laws are ſettled there, and all reſolutions taken not by the majority, but by the unanimity of the ſuffrages. Upon falſe notions of right and perfection, it has been ſuppoſed that a law was juſt only as it was adopted with unanimous conſent; becauſe it has undoubtedly been thought, that what was right would both be perceived and put in practice by all; two things that are impoſſible in a national aſſembly. But

BOOK XIX.

can we even aſcribe ſuch pure intentions to a ſet of tyrants? For this conſtitution, which boaſts the title of a republic, and prophanes it, is no more than a league of petty deſpots againſt the people. There, every one has power to prevent, and no one has power to act. There, the will of each individual may be in oppoſition to the general wiſhes; and there only, a fool, a wicked man, and a madman is ſure to prevail over a whole nation.

And, indeed, this government has never proſpered; and Poland, that enjoys the privilege of electing its kings merely from the jealouſy of its nobles, has been only indebted to the jealouſy of its neighbours, for not having an hereditary deſpot in the family of a foreign conqueror.

It was reſerved to our days, to ſee this ſtate torn in pieces by three rival powers, which have appropriated to themſelves thoſe of its provinces that lay moſt convenient for them. May this crime of ambition turn out to the advantage of mankind; and by a glorious action of benevolence, may the uſurpers break the chains of the moſt laborious part of their new people! Their ſubjects will be more faithful, by being more free; and being no longer ſlaves, will become men.

In a monarchy, all the forces, and the wills of all, are at the diſpoſal of one ſingle man; in the government of Germany, each member is a body. This is, perhaps, the nation that reſembles moſt what it formerly was. The ancient Germans, divided into colonies by immenſe foreſts, had no occaſion for a very refined legiſlation. But in proportion as their deſcendents have multiplied and come nearer each other, art has kept up in this country what nature had eſtabliſhed; the ſeparation of the people and their political union. The ſmall ſtates that compoſe this confederate republic, preſerve the ſtamp of the firſt fa-

families. Each particular government is not always paternal, or the fathers of the nations are not always mild and humane. But ſtill reaſon and liberty, with which all the chiefs are united, ſoftens the ſeverity of their diſpoſitions, and the rigor of their authority: a prince in Germany cannot be a tyrant with the ſame impunity as in large monarchies. BOOK XIX.

The Germans, who are rather warriors, than a warlike people, becauſe they are rather proficients in the art of war, than addicted to it from inclination, have been conquered but once; and it was Charlemagne who conquered, but could not reduce them to ſubjection. They obeyed the man, who by talents ſuperior to the age he lived in, had ſubdued and enlightened its barbariſm; but they ſhook off the yoke of his ſucceſſors. Nevertheleſs they preſerved the title of emperor to their chief; but it was merely a name, ſince the real power reſided almoſt entirely in the barons that poſſeſſed the lands. The people, who unfortunately have always been every where enſlaved, ſpoiled, kept in miſery by ignorance, and in ignorance by miſery, had not the leaſt ſhare in the advantages of the legiſlation. From this deſtruction of ſocial equilibrium, which does not tend to reduce all conditions and fortunes to the ſame ſtandard, but to the more extenſive diviſion of riches, the feudal government was formed, the characteriſtic of which is anarchy. Each nobleman lived in a total independence, and each people under the moſt abſolute tyranny. This was the unavoidable conſequence of a government, where the crown was elective. In thoſe ſtates where it was hereditary, the people had, at leaſt, a bulwark and a permanent refuge againſt oppreſſion. The regal authority could not extend itſelf, without alleviating for ſome time the fate of the vaſſals, by diminiſhing the power of the nobles.

But

BOOK XIX.

But in Germany, where the nobles take advantage of each interregnum to invade or reſtrain the rights of the imperial power, the government could not but degenerate. Strength decided every thing between thoſe who wore the ſword. Lands and men were only the inſtruments, or the ſubjects of war between the proprietors. Crimes were the ſupport of injuſtice. Rapine, murder, and conflagrations not only became cuſtomary, but even lawful. Superſtition, which had conſecrated tyranny, was obliged to put a ſtop to it. The church, which furniſhed an aſylum to all the plunderers, ſettled a truce between them. Recourſe was had to the protection of the ſaints, to avoid the fury of the nobles. The aſhes of the dead were only ſufficient to ſtop the ferociouſneſs of theſe people; ſo frightful is death, even to men of cruel and ſavage diſpoſitions.

When the minds of men ſtill in a ſtate of commotion, were diſpoſed to become calm through fear; policy, which avails itſelf equally of reaſon and the paſſions, of ignorance and underſtanding, in ruling over mankind, attempted to throw the government into a better form. On the one hand, ſeveral inhabitants in the countries were infranchiſed; and on the other, exemptions were granted in favour of the cities. There were a number of men in all parts who enjoyed freedom. The emperors, who to ſecure their election even among ignorant and ferocious princes, were obliged to diſcloſe ſome abilities and ſome virtues, prepared the way for the reformation of the legiſlation.

Maximilian took advantage of all the ſeeds of happineſs that were ſown in his age by time and by the events. He demoliſhed the anarchy of the great. In France and Spain, they had been made ſubject to regal authority; in Germany, the emperors made them ſubject to

to the laws. Under pretence of the public tranquillity, every prince may be brought to juſtice. It is true, that theſe laws eſtabliſhed among lions do not ſave the lambs; and the people are ſtill at the mercy of their rulers, who are only bound one towards another. But as public tranquillity cannot be violated, nor war commenced, without being amenable to a tribunal that is always open, and ſupported by all the forces of the empire, the people are leſs expoſed to thoſe ſudden irruptions, and unforeſeen hoſtilities, which threatening the property of the ſovereigns continually endangered the lives and ſafety of the ſubjects. War, which formerly conſtituted right, is now ſubject to conditions that moderate its fury. The cries of humanity are heard even in the midſt of carnage. It is to Germany that Europe owes the improvement of the legiſlation in all ſtates; regularity and proceedings even in the revenge of nations; a certain equity even in the abuſe of power; moderation in the midſt of victory; a check to the ambition of all potentates; in ſhort, freſh obſtacles to war, and freſh encouragements to peace.

THIS happy conſtitution of the German empire, has improved with the progreſs of reaſon ſince the reign of Maximilian. Nevertheleſs the Germans themſelves complain, that although they form a national body, diſtinguiſhed by the ſame name, ſpeaking the ſame language, living under the ſame chief, enjoying the ſame privileges, and connected by the ſame intereſts, yet their empire has not the advantage of that tranquillity, that power and conſideration it ought to have.

THE cauſes of this misfortune are obvious. The firſt, is the obſcurity of the laws. The writings upon the *jus publicum* of Germany are numberleſs; and there are but few Germans who are verſed in the conſtitution of their country. All the members of the empire now ſend their

BOOK XIX.

their repreſentatives to the national aſſembly, whereas they formerly ſat there themſelves. The military turn, which is become univerſal, has precluded all application to buſineſs, every generous ſentiment of patriotiſm, and all attachment to fellow-citizens. There is not one of the princes who has not ſettled his court too magnificently for his income, and who does not authoriſe the moſt flagrant oppreſſions to ſupport this ridiculous pomp. In ſhort, nothing contributes more to the decay of the empire, than the inordinate aggrandizement of ſome of its members. The ſovereigns become too powerful, ſeparate their private intereſts from the general good. This reciprocal diſunion among the ſtates, is the reaſon, that in dangers that are common to all, each province is left to ſhift for itſelf. It is obliged to bend to the ſtrongeſt, whoever he may be; and thus the Germanic conſtitution degenerates inſenſibly into ſlavery or tyranny.

ENGLAND owes its national genius to its geographical poſition, and its government to its national character. It was invited by nature to the ſea, to commerce, and to liberty. This idol of men of ſtrong minds, which renders them ferocious in a ſavage ſtate, and proud in a civilized one, this ſpirit of liberty always reigned in the breaſts of the Engliſh, even when they were ignorant of its rights and advantages.

THIS was the nation that firſt diſcovered the injuſtice and inſignificancy of eccleſiaſtical power, the limits of regal authority, and the abuſes of the feudal government. This was the nation that was the firſt to revolt and throw off this triple load of oppreſſion. Until the reign of Henry the eighth, they had fought only for the choice of their tyrants; but at length, in chuſing them, they paved the way for aboliſhing, puniſhing, or expelling them.

NEVER-

NEVERTHELESS the kings of England thought themſelves abſolute, becauſe all thoſe of the reſt of Europe were ſo. The title of monarch deceived James the firſt; he annexed unlimited authority to it. He diſcovered this idea with ſo much frankneſs, ſuch blind ſimplicity, that he did not even diſtruſt his own pretenſions, ſufficiently, to induce him to ſupport them previouſly by force. His courtiers and his clergy encouraged him in this flattering illuſion, which he perſevered in to the end. He died full of ſelf-eſtimation, and deſpiſed by his people; who knew the weakneſs of that monarch, and valued their own ſtrength.

THE Engliſh, to put an end to the ſpirit of revenge and miſtruſt, which would have been perpetuated between the crown and the people after the tragical end of Charles the firſt, choſe, from a foreign race, a prince who was at length obliged to accept of that ſocial compact, which all hereditary kings affect to be ignorant of. William the third received the crown with conditions, and contented himſelf with an authority eſtabliſhed upon the ſame baſis as the rights of the people.

UNDER the reigns of the Stuarts, power and liberty had been in perpetual conteſt, between the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the people. Since a parliamentary or national title is become the ſole right of kings, whatever faction diſturbs the people, the force of the conſtitution prevails always in their favour.

THE government is formed between abſolute monarchy, which is a tyranny; democracy, which leads towards anarchy; and ariſtocracy, which fluctuating between one and the other, falls into the errors of both. The mixt government of the Engliſh, combining the advantages of theſe three powers, which mutually obſerve, moderate, aſſiſt, and reſtrain each other, tends of itſelf to the national good. This conſtitution, of which there is no inſtance

BOOK XIX.

inſtance among the ancients, and which ought to ſerve as a model to poſterity, will ſupport itſelf a long time; becauſe it is not the reſult of manners, and of tranſient opinions; but of reaſoning and experience.

YET the people are with reaſon alarmed about the duration of ſo good a government. Encroachments of the crown are not apprehended. The ſhare the king holds in the legiſlation is too trifling, to prevail over the two houſes of parliament. His right of refuſal or conſent is at preſent a mere matter of form. His greateſt ſtrength is in the executive power, which is ſolely veſted in him. But as he hath only the right and exerciſe of this power, without having the inſtruments and the means, he cannot avail himſelf of it. If he were once to abuſe it, he would run the riſque of loſing it for ever. The money comes from the taxes, and the taxes are impoſed by parliament. The people ſupply the prince with ſubſidies, and he gives them an account of them. Hence, the parliament, under whoſe inſpection the revenues and the expences paſs, is the real legiſlator. It is the parliament that levies the taxes, and determines how they ſhall be employed. But although the prince is in this reſpect dependent on the commons, yet he hath ſtill a great aſcendent over them, by the power of diſpenſing favours.

IN monarchies, kings are bribed; in England, they bribe. A philoſophical and political writer, well acquainted with the conſtitution of his country, aſſerts that this bribery is neceſſary, to check the tendency of the government to democracy; and that the people would become too powerful, if the king did not buy off the commons.

ON the other hand, if the prince were to raiſe the richer members of the commons to the higheſt dignities, by creating peers at pleaſure, he would make the government

ment lean to ariſtocracy. But as the dignity of peerage cannot be laviſhed without degrading it, and that beſides the riches will always circulate moſt among the commercial part of the nation, it will ſcarce happen that riches and dignities will be accumulated and united in a few individuals; murmurs, troubles, and even ſeditions will ariſe for the ſecurity of the people before ſuch a misfortune can take place. The intereſt of the collective body in the houſe of commons is reſtrained by the intereſt of each individual. The king is not rich enough to bribe them all; he cannot openly by them off without diſhonouring them, nor enſlave them without irritating the people. There will always be ſome Demagogues; and the nation ſtands in need of them to watch, to accuſe, and even to keep the parliament in awe. BOOK XIX.

But, if the enjoyments of luxury ſhould happen totally to pervert the morals of the nation; if the love of pleaſure ſhould ſoften the courage of the commanders and officers of the fleets and armies; if the intoxication of temporary ſucceſſes; if vain ideas of falſe greatneſs ſhould excite the nation to enterprizes above their ſtrength; if they ſhould be deceived in the choice of their enemies, or their allies; if they ſhould loſe their colonies, either by making them too extenſive, or by laying reſtraints upon them; if their love of patriotiſm were not exalted to the love of humanity: they would ſooner or later be enſlaved, and return to that kind of inſignificancy from whence they emerged only through torrents of blood, and through the calamities of two ages of fanaticiſm and war. They would become like other nations whom they deſpiſe, and Europe could not ſhew the univerſe one nation in which ſhe could venture to pride herſelf. Deſpotiſm, which always oppreſſes moſt heavily minds that are ſubdued

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BOOK XIX.

and degraded, would alone raiſe its head, amidſt the ruin of the arts, of morals, of reaſon, and of liberty.

THE hiſtory of the united provinces is replete with great ſingularities. Their combination was formed by deſpair, and almoſt all Europe encouraged their eſtabliſhment. They had but juſt triumphed over the long and powerful efforts of the court of Spain to reduce them to ſubjection, when they were obliged to try their ſtrength againſt the Bretons, and diſconcerted the ſchemes of France. They afterwards gave a king to England, and deprived Spain of the provinces ſhe poſſeſſed in Italy and the Low Countries, to give them to Auſtria. Since that period, Holland has been diſguſted of military politics; and is ſolely employed in her preſervation; which, however, ſhe attends to, perhaps, with too little earneſtneſs, precaution and virtue.

THE conſtitution of Holland, though traced out before-hand upon a ſtudied plan, is not leſs defective than thoſe that have been formed by chance. The ſeven provinces compoſe a kind of heptarchy, the members of which are too independent of each other. In the republic, each province is ſupreme; in the provinces, the cities are not ſubject. Alliances, peace, war, ſubſidies; nothing is done but by the ſtates-general; and theſe again can do nothing without the conſent of the provincial ſtates, nor theſe without the determination of the cities. A ſovereignty too much diſperſed; this is the firſt fault of the conſtitution: unanimity of ſuffrages, a ſecond; an equal number of votes, the third. Without any regard to the difference of population and ſize, the province of Holland has not more votes than that of Over-Yſſel, though it bears twenty times a greater ſhare in the public expences. The ſuffrage of Amſterdam carries no more weight with it, than that of the moſt petty town: which

which is a perpetual ſource of diſcord. If the obſtinacy of one ſingle province breaks the union, there is no legal mediator to reſtore it: for the ſtadtholder is not one.

This magiſtrate, whoſe buſineſs it is to terminate religious diſputes, has on that account a dangerous influence, becauſe he may involve all affairs of religion with thoſe of ſtate, and all affairs of ſtate with thoſe of religion. Authoriſed as he is to determine upon the articles of the treaty of union, whenever there is a ſchiſm or diviſion, the power he has of putting an end to diſcord makes it eaſy for him to foment it; and opens a vaſt field to his ambition.

These fears occaſioned the ſuppreſſion of the ſtadtholder's power towards the middle of the laſt century. But thoſe who overthrew this phantom of tyranny, were inſenſibly proceeding to the eſtabliſhment of real tyranny, by changing the democracy into an oligarchy. From that time, the burghers of each town loſt the privileges of liberty, with the right of electing their magiſtrates and forming their ſenate. The burgomaſters choſe their officers and ſeized upon the finances, of which they gave no account but to their equals or their dependents. The ſenators arrogated to themſelves the right of completing their own body. Thus the magiſtracy was confined within a few families, who aſſumed an almoſt excluſive right of deputation to the ſtates-general. Each province and each town were at the diſpoſal of a ſmall number of citizens, who, dividing the rights and the ſpoils of the people, had the art of eluding their complaints, or of preventing the rage of their diſcontent.

These encroachments occaſioned the reſtoration of the ſtadtholder's power in the houſe of Orange, and it has been made hereditary, even to the women. But a ſtadtholder is nothing more than a captain-general. This ma-

BOOK XIX.

magiſtrate, however, in order to be uſeful to the republic, ought to belong totally to the ſtate. If he had as much influence in the general aſſembly, as he has in the military council, he would have no other intereſts than thoſe of his country; and would be as indifferent for war as for peace.

But, perhaps, it may be apprehended, that if the civil power ſhould be united to the military force in the ſtadtholder, this dignity might one day become an inſtrument of oppreſſion. Rome is always quoted as an example to all our free ſtates, that have no circumſtance in common with it. If the dictator became the oppreſſor of that republic, it was for theſe reaſons; that the republic had oppreſſed all other nations; that its power was to be deſtroyed by the ſword that had founded it; and that a nation, compoſed of ſoldiers, could not eſcape the deſpotiſm of a military government. It is ſcarce credible, but no leſs certain, that the Roman republic ſubmitted to the yoke, becauſe it paid no taxes. The conquered people were the only tributaries to the treaſury. The public revenues, therefore, neceſſarily remaining the ſame after the revolution as before, property did not appear to be attacked; and the citizen thought he ſhould be ſtill free enough, while he remained the maſter of his fortunes.

Holland, on the contrary, will maintain its liberty, becauſe it is ſubject to very conſiderable taxes. The Dutch cannot preſerve their country but with great expences. The ſenſe of their independence alone excites an induſtry proportionable to the load of their contributions, and to their patience in ſupporting the burthen of them. If to the enormous expences of the ſtate, it were neceſſary to add thoſe which the pomp of a court requires; if the prince were to employ in maintaining the

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agents of tyranny, what ought to be beſtowed on the foundations of a land built upon the ſea, he would ſoon drive the people to deſpair.

An inhabitant of Holland, placed upon a mountain, and obſerving from afar the ſea riſing eighteen or twenty feet above the level of the lands, who ſees it advance with a roar againſt the dikes he has raiſed, conſiders, and thinks within himſelf, that ſooner or later that boiſterous element will get the better of him. He diſdains ſo precarious a dwelling, and his houſe, made either of wood or ſtone at Amſterdam, is no longer conſidered as his houſe; it is his ſhip that is his aſylum, and by degrees he acquires an indifference and manners conformable to this idea. The water is to him what the vicinity of volcanos is to other people.

If to theſe natural cauſes of the decay of patriotic ſpirit were joined the loſs of liberty, the Dutch would quit a country that cannot be cultivated but by men that are free; and this trading people would carry their ſpirit of commerce together with their riches to ſome other part of the globe. Their iſlands in Aſia, their factories in Africa, their colonies in America, and all the parts of Europe would afford them an aſylum. What ſtadtholder, what prince, revered by ſuch a people, would wiſh, or dare, to become their tyrant?

The French, with a different ſituation, have a different kind of government, which hath gone through an infinite number of viciſſitudes. Ever attached to a king, becauſe they were founded by a military commander, a warlike diſpoſition preſerved them for a long time from political ſlavery. That openneſs of courage; that abhorrence of all kind of meanneſs; that frankneſs which they held from the Germans, made them believe either that they were free, or that they ought to be ſo, even

BOOK XIX.

under the dominion of kings. Jealous of this idea they entertained of themſelves, the nobility which compoſed almoſt all the nation, pretended to be independent, not only of the monarch, but even of their own body. Each nobleman formed, in the midſt of the ſtate, a kind of private republic of his own family and his vaſſals. France had then a military government, impoſſible to be defined, ſomething between ariſtocracy and monarchy, having all the abuſes of theſe two conſtitutions, without their real advantages. A perpetual conteſt between the kings and the nobles, an alternate preponderation of the power of one ſingle perſon, or of ſeveral; ſuch was the kind of anarchy that laſted, almoſt without interruption, to the middle of the fifteenth century.

THEN the character of the French was changed by a train of events that had changed the form of government. The war, which the Engliſh, combined with, or ſubject to the Normans, had inceſſantly carried on with this kingdom for two or three hundred years paſt, ſpread the alarm throughout, and occaſioned great ravages. The triumphs of the enemy, the tyranny of the great, every thing made the nation wiſh that the prince ſhould be inveſted with power ſufficient to drive away the ſtrangers, and to keep the nobles in ſubjection. While a ſet of wiſe and warlike kings were labouring at this great work, a new generation aroſe. Every individual, when the danger was paſt, thought himſelf happy enough in the privileges that had been left to his anceſtors. They neglected to trace the origin of the power of kings, which was derived from the nation; and Lewis the XIth, without much effort, became more powerful than his predeceſſors.

BEFORE his time, the hiſtory of France preſents a complication of ſtates, ſometimes divided, and ſometimes

times united. Since that prince's reign, it is the history of a great monarchy. The authority of several tyrants is centered in one person. The people are not more free; but the constitution is different. Peace enjoyed with greater security within, and war carried on with more vigour without.

Civil wars, which lead a free people to slavery, and an enslaved people to freedom, have no other effect in France than that of humbling the great, without exalting the people. The ministers, who will always be the creatures of the prince, while the nation has no influence in the administration, have all sold their fellow-citizens to their master; and as the people, who had nothing, could not lose any thing by this servitude, the kings have found it the more easy to effect it, especially as it was always concealed under a pretence of policy and even of relief. The antipathy excited by a great inequality of conditions and fortunes, hath favoured all the schemes that tended to aggrandize the regal authority. The princes have had the art to engage the attention of the people, sometimes by wars abroad, sometimes by religious disputes at home; to suffer the minds of men to be divided by opinions, and their hearts by different interests; to excite and keep up jealousies between the several ranks of the state; to flatter alternately each ambitious propensity with an appearance of favour, and to satisfy the natural envy of the people by the lowering of all ambition. The multitude, poor and despised, when they have seen all powerful bodies brought low one after another, have, at least, loved in their monarch the enemy of their enemies.

The nation, however, though by inadvertency it has lost the privilege of governing itself, has not yet submitted to all the outrages of despotism. This is, because

BOOK XIX.

the loſs of its liberty has not yet been the effect of a tumultuous and ſudden revolution, but has been gradually brought about in a ſucceſſion of ſeveral ages. The national character, which hath always exerted its influence on the minds of the princes, and at court, if even by the means of the women only, hath formed a ſort of balance of power, which as it hath moderated by manners the action of force and the re-action of free-will, hath prevented thoſe ſudden and violent exertions, from whence either monarchial tyranny, or popular liberty reſults.

INCONSISTENCE as natural to the minds of a gay and lively people, as it is to children, hath fortunately prevailed over the ſyſtems of ſome deſpotic miniſters. Kings have been too fond of pleaſure, and too converſant with the real ſource of it, not to be induced frequently to lay aſide the iron ſcepter which would have frightened the people, and diſſipated the frivolous amuſements to which they were addicted. The ſpirit of intrigue which hath ever prevailed among them, ſince the great people were called to court, has alſo continually overſet the men in office with their ſchemes. As the change in the government has been imperceptibly brought about, the ſubjects have preſerved a kind of dignity, in which the monarch himſelf has ſeemed to reſpect the origin or the effect of his own. He has continued the ſupreme legiſlator for a long time, without being either willing or able to abuſe all his power. Reſtrained by the name only of the fundamental laws of the nation, he has frequently been afraid to act contrary to the principles of them. He has been ſenſible that the people had their rights to oppoſe to him. In a word, there has been no tyrant, even at a time when there was no liberty.

SUCH, and ſtill more abſolute, have been the governments of Spain and Portugal, of Naples and Piedmont; and

and of the ſeveral ſmall principalities of Italy. The people of the ſouth, whether from inactivity of mind, or corporeal weakneſs, ſeem to be born for deſpotiſm. The Spaniards with a great ſhare of pride; and the Italians, notwithſtanding all the powers of genius, have loſt all their right and every trace of liberty. Wherever the monarchy is unlimited, it is impoſſible to aſcertain exactly what the form of government is, ſince that varies not only with the character of each ſovereign, but even at every period of the ſame prince's life. Theſe ſtates have all of them written laws; they have cuſtoms and ſocieties that are privileged: but when the legiſlator can overturn the laws and tribunals; when his authority has no other baſis than force, and when he calls upon God to make himſelf be feared, rather than beloved by imitating him; when the original right of ſociety, when the unalienable right of property among citizens, when national conventions, and the engagements of the prince are called upon in vain; in a word, when the government is arbitrary, there is no longer any ſtate; the nation is no more than the landed property of one ſingle individual. BOOK XIX.

In countries of this ſort, no ſtateſmen will ever be formed. Far from its being a duty to be informed of public affairs, it is rather criminal and dangerous to have any knowledge of the adminiſtration. The favour of the court, the choice of the prince, ſupply the place of talents. Not but that talents are uſeful; they are ſometimes wanted to ſerve, but never to command. Thus, in theſe countries, the people ſuffer themſelves to be governed, provided they are but allowed to ſleep. There is only one ſyſtem of legiſlation in theſe delightful regions of Europe, which merits our attention; and this is the republic of Venice.

BOOK XIX.

A great, magnificent and rich city, impregnable, though without walls or fortifications, rules over ſeventy two iſlands. They are not rocks and mountains raiſed by time in the midſt of a vaſt ſea; but rather a plain parcelled out and cut into channels by the ſtagnations of a ſmall gulph, upon the ſlope of a low land. Theſe iſlands ſeparated by canals, are at preſent joined by bridges. They have been formed by the ravages of the ſea, and peopled by the ravages of war towards the middle of the fifth century. The inhabitants of Italy flying from Attila, ſought an aſylum in the element of ſtorms.

THE Venetian lagunes at firſt made neither a part of the ſame city, nor of the ſame republic. United by one commercial intereſt, or rather by the neceſſity of defending themſelves, they were, however, divided into as many ſeparate governments as iſlands, each ſubject to its reſpective tribune.

FROM the plurality of chiefs contentions aroſe, and the deſtruction of the public good. Theſe people, therefore, in order to make but one body, choſe a prince, who under the title of duke or doge, enjoyed for a long time all the rights of ſovereignty, of which he only now retains the ſymbols. Theſe doges were elected by the people till 1173, when the nobles ſeizing upon the whole authority of the republic, named its chiefs.

THE government of Venice would be the beſt of all governments, if an ariſtocracy were not, perhaps, the worſt. The ſeveral branches of power are divided there among the nobles, and balanced with an admirable equilibrium. The great reign there undiſturbed with a kind of equality, as the ſtars ſhine in the firmament during the ſilence of the night. The people enjoy this ſight, and are contented with their ſubſiſtence and amuſements. The diſtinction between plebeians and patricians is leſs odious

odious than in any other republics; becauſe the laws are particularly directed to ſuppreſs and deſtroy the ambition of the nobles. Beſides, as the proſperity of Venice was founded upon its commerce, the people might conſole themſelves for the loſs of power, by the hopes of riches, which they might acquire by induſtry and labour. BOOK XIX.

THE emulation excited by opulence among this maritime people, enabled them to maintain powerful armies; and the ſpirit of patriotiſm which is natural to republics, ſupplied them with ſoldiers. The variety of information reſulting from the government of many, made them excel all other people in politics. They learned the art of forming, and deſtroying leagues, and of maintaining their ground againſt the moſt formidable powers. But ſince the decay of their commerce hath leſſened their activity abroad, and their vigour within, the republic of Venice is fallen into a ſtate of puſillanimous circumſpection. They have aſſumed and improved upon that jealouſy and miſtruſt which is the national character of all Italy. With one half of the treaſures and care they have beſtowed ſince the neutrality they have obſerved for two centuries, they would have freed themſelves from the dangers to which their very precautions have expoſed them. Their chief confidence is in an inquiſitor, who is continually prying among individuals, with the axe raiſed againſt any one who ſhall dare to ſpeak good or evil of adminiſtration. The great crime is either the cenſure or approbation of government. The ſenator of Venice, concealed behind a grate, ſays to the ſubject: *Who art thou, that dar'ſt to approve our conduct!* A curtain riſes, and the poor trembling Venetian beholds a carcaſe tied to a gallows, and hears a terrible voice that calls out to him from behind the grate: *It is thus we treat thoſe who preſume to apologize for us; go home, and be ſilent.* The re-

BOOK XIX.

republic of Venice ſtill ſupports itſelf by its cunning; there is another in Europe which ſupports itſelf by its courage: this is the republic of Switzerland.

THE Switzers, known in antiquity by the name of Helvetians, were not to be ſubdued any more than the Gauls and the Britons, but by Cæſar, who was the greateſt of the Romans, if he had been more attached to his country. They were united to Germany, as a Roman province, under the reign of Honorius. Revolutions which are frequent and eaſily accompliſhed in ſuch a country as the Alps, divided colonies that were ſeparated by large lakes or great mountains, into ſeveral baronies. The moſt conſiderable of theſe, occupied by the houſe of Auſtria, at length ſeized upon all the reſt. Conqueſt brought on ſlavery; oppreſſion occaſioned revolt; and liberty ſprang up from the exceſs of tyranny.

THERE are now thirteen cantons of robuſt peaſants, who defend almoſt all the kings of Europe and fear none; who are better acquainted with their real intereſts than any other nation; and who conſtitute the moſt ſenſible people in all modern political ſtates. Theſe thirteen cantons compoſe among themſelves, not a republic as the ſeven provinces of Holland, nor a ſimple confederacy as the Germanic body, but rather a league, a natural aſſociation of ſo many independent republics. Each canton hath its reſpective ſovereignty, its alliances and its treaties ſeparate. The general diet cannot make laws or regulations for either of them.

THE three moſt ancient are immediately connected with each of the other twelve. It is from this union of convenience not of conſtitution, that if one of the thirteen cantons were attacked, all the reſt would march to its aſſiſtance. But there is no common alliance between all and each of them. Thus the branches of a tree are united

united among themſelves, without having any immediate connection with the common trunk. BOOK XIX.

THE union of the Switzers was, however, indiſſoluble till the beginning of the 16th century; when religion, which ſhould be the bond of peace and charity, diſunited them. The reformation disjointed the Helvetic body, and the ſtate was divided by the church. All public affairs are tranſacted in the ſeparate and particular diets of the catholic and proteſtant parties. The general diets are aſſembled only to preſerve the appearance of union. Notwithſtanding this ſeed of diſcord, Switzerland has enjoyed peace much more than any ſtate in Europe.

UNDER the Auſtrian government, oppreſſion and the levying of militia, impeded population. After the revolution, population increaſed too much in proportion to the barrenneſs of the land. The Helvetic body could not be enlarged without burſting, unleſs it made ſome excurſions abroad. The inhabitants of theſe mountains, as the torrents that pour down from them, were to ſpread themſelves in the plains that border upon the Alps. Theſe people would have deſtroyed each other, had they remained ſequeſtered among themſelves. But ignorance of the arts, the want of materials for manufactures, the deficiency of money to attract the importation of proviſions, excluded them from the means of procuring the comforts of life and of encouraging induſtry. They drew even from their increaſe of numbers a method of ſubſiſting and acquiring riches, a ſource and an object of trade.

THE duke of Milan, maſter of a rich country open on all ſides to invaſion, and not eaſily defended, was in want of ſoldiers. The Switzers, who were his moſt powerful neighbours, muſt neceſſarily become his enemies, if they were not his allies, or rather his protectors. A kind

BOOK XIX.

kind of traffic was, therefore, ſet on foot between theſe people and the Milaneſe, in which ſtrength was bartered for riches. The nation engaged troops ſucceſſively in the ſervice of France, of the emperor, of the pope, of the duke of Savoy, and all the potentates of Italy. They ſold their blood to the moſt diſtant powers, and to the nations moſt in enmity with each other; to Holland, to Spain and to Portugal; as if theſe mountains were nothing more than a repoſitory of arms and ſoldiers, open to every one who wanted to purchaſe the inſtruments of war.

Each canton treats with that power which offers the beſt terms. The ſubjects of the country are at liberty to engage in war at a diſtance, with any allied nation. The Hollander is by the conſtitution of his country a citizen of the world; the Switzer by the ſame circumſtance a deſtroyer of Europe. The profits of Holland are in proportion to the degree of cultivation, and the conſummation of merchandiſe; the more battles and the more carnage there is, the greater is the proſperity of Switzerland.

It is by war, that calamity inſeparable from mankind, whether in ſavage or civilized ſtates, that the republics of the Helvetic body are forced to live and ſubſiſt. It is by this that they keep a number of inhabitants within proportioned to the extent and fertility of their lands, without forcing any of the ſprings of government, or reſtraining the inclinations of any individual. It is by the traffic of troops with the belligerent powers, that Switzerland has been preſerved from the neceſſity of ſudden emigrations which are the cauſe of invaſions, and from that of attempting conqueſts which would have occaſioned the loſs of the liberty of theſe republics, as it ruined all the republics of Greece.

If we now take a review of what has been ſaid, we ſhall find that all the governments of Europe are comprehended under ſome of the forms we have been deſcribing, and are differently modelled according to the local ſituation, the degree of population, the extent of territory, the influence of opinions and occupations, and the external connections and variety of events that act upon the organiſation of the body politic, as the impreſſion of ſurrounding fluids acts upon natural bodies.

We are not to imagine, as it is often aſſerted, that all governments are nearly alike, with no other difference than the character of the men who govern. This maxim may, perhaps, be verified in abſolute governments, among nations who have not any kind of free-will. Theſe take the turn the prince gives them: they are haughty, proud and courageous, under a monarch that is active and fond of glory: indolent and melancholy under a ſuperſtitious king: full of hopes and fears under a young prince; of weakneſs and corruption under an old deſpot; or rather alternately confident and weak under the ſeveral miniſters raiſed by intrigue. In ſuch ſtates, the government takes the character of the adminiſtration: but in free ſtates, it is juſt the reverſe.

Whatever may be ſaid of the nature and ſprings of the conſtitutions by which men are governed, the art of legiſlation being that which requires the higheſt perfection, is alſo the moſt proper to employ men of the firſt genius. The ſcience of government does not contain abſtracted truths, or rather it has not one ſingle principle which does not extend to all the branches of adminiſtration.

The ſtate is a very complicated machine, which cannot be wound up or ſet a going without a thorough knowledge of all its component parts. One of them cannot be drawn too tight or left too looſe but that the whole machine

BOOK XIX.

chine muſt be in diſorder. Every project that may be beneficial to a certain number of citizens or in critical times, may become fatal to the whole nation, and prejudicial for a long continuance. If we deſtroy or change the nature of any great body, thoſe convulſive motions which are called ſtrokes of ſtate, will diſturb the whole nation, which may, perhaps, feel the effects for ages to come. All innovations ought to be brought about inſenſibly, they ſhould ariſe from neceſſity, be excited by a ſort of public clamour, or at leaſt agree with the general wiſhes. To aboliſh or to create on a ſudden, is to increaſe evil and to ſpoil the good. To act without conſulting the will of the generality, without collecting as it were the plurality of votes in the public opinion, is to alienate the hearts and minds of men, and to bring every thing into diſcredit, even what is honeſt and good.

It would be a deſirable thing in Europe, that the ſovereigns convinced of the neceſſity of improving the ſcience of government, ſhould imitate the Chineſe eſtabliſhment. In this empire, the miniſters are diſtinguiſhed into two claſſes, the *thinkers*, and the *figners*. While the laſt are employed in executing and expediting the affairs, the firſt have nothing to do but to form projects, or to examine ſuch as are preſented to them. This is the ſource of all thoſe admirable regulations, which eſtabliſh at China the moſt enlightened legiſlation, by the wiſeſt adminiſtration. All Aſia is under deſpotic government; but in Turkey and Perſia, it is the deſpotiſm of opinion by religion; in China, it is the deſpotiſm of the laws by the influence of reaſon. Among the Mohammedans, they believe in the divine authority of the prince; among the Chineſe, they believe in natural authority founded upon the law of reaſon. But in theſe empires, it is conviction that acts upon the will.

In

In the happy ſtate of policy and knowledge to which Europe has attained, it is plain that this conviction of the mind, which produces a free, eaſy and general obedience, can proceed from nothing but a certain evidence of the utility of the laws. If the governments would not pay *thinkers*, who might, perhaps, become ſuſpicious or corrupt as ſoon as they were mercenary; let them, at leaſt, allow men of ſuperior underſtandings to watch in ſome meaſure over the public good. Every writer of genius is born a magiſtrate of his country; and he ought to enlighten it as much as it is in his power. His abilities give him a right to do it. Whether he be an obſcure or a diſtinguiſhed citizen, whatever be his rank or his birth, his mind, which is always noble, takes its claims from his talents. His tribunal is the whole nation; his judge is the public, not the deſpot who does not hear him, nor the miniſter who will not liſten to him.

All theſe truths have, doubtleſs, their boundaries: but it is always more dangerous to ſtifle the freedom of thinking, than to leave it to its bent or impetuoſity. Reaſon and truth triumph over the audacity of thoſe violent minds, which are rouzed only by reſtraint, and irritated only by perſecution. Kings and miniſters, love your people, love mankind, and ye will be happy. Ye have then no reaſon to fear, either free or diſcontented minds, nor the revolt of bad men. The revolt of the heart is much more dangerous: for virtue, when ſoured and rouzed into indignation, becomes atrocious. Cato and Brutus were both virtuous; they were reduced to the neceſſity of chuſing, between two great acts of outrage, ſuicide, or the death of Cæſar.

The intereſt of government and thoſe of the nation are the ſame. Whoever attempts to divide them, is but ill-acquainted with them, and can only prejudice them.

There

BOOK XIX.

THERE may ſometimes be diſcontented people under a good government; but where there are a great number of unhappy perſons, without any advantage to the public proſperity, then the government is faulty in its nature.

MANKIND are juſt as we would have them to be; it is the mode of government which gives them a good or an evil propenſity.

A ſtate ought to have but one object in view; and that is, public felicity. Every ſtate has its own mode of tending to this end; and this mode is its ſpirit, its principle, to which every thing elſe is ſubordinate.

A nation can have no induſtry for the arts, nor courage for war, without a confidence in and an attachment to the government. But whenever fear has broken all the other ſprings of the ſoul, a nation then becomes of no conſequence, the prince is expoſed to a thouſand enterpriſes from without and a thouſand dangers from within. Deſpiſed by his neighbours, and deteſted by his ſubjects, he hath reaſon to be in perpetual fear for the fate of his kingdom, and for his own life. It is a happineſs for a nation, that commerce, arts and ſciences ſhould flouriſh. It is even a happineſs for thoſe who govern, when they are not inclined to tyrannize. Upright minds are very eaſily led; but none have a greater averſion for violence and ſlavery. Let good monarchs be bleſſed with enlightened people; and let tyrants have none but brutes to reign over.

DESPOTISM is both raiſed and aboliſhed by military power. In its infancy it is a lion that conceals his talons, to let them grow. In its full vigour, it is a madman who tears his body with his arms. In its advanced age, it is Saturn, who, after having devoured his children, is ſhamefully mutilated by his own race.

Go-

BOOK XIX.

GOVERNMENT may be divided into legiſlation and policy. Legiſlation acts within, and policy without.

Policy.

SAVAGE nations have rather a policy than a legiſlation. Governed among themſelves by manners and example, the only conventions or laws they have, are between one nation and another. Treaties of peace or alliance are their only codes.

SUCH were nearly the ſocieties of antient times. Separated by deſerts, without any communication of trade or voyages, thoſe people had only a preſent and immediate intereſt to ſettle. All their negotiations conſiſted in putting an end to a war by fixing the boundaries of a ſtate. As the buſineſs was to perſuade a nation, and not bribe a court by the miſtreſſes or favourites of a prince, eloquent men were employed in it, and the names of orator and ambaſſador were ſynonimous.

IN the middle ages, when every thing, even juſtice itſelf was decided by force; when the Gothic government divided by intereſts all thoſe petty ſtates which owed their exiſtence to its conſtitution; negotiations had but little influence over a wild and recluſe people, who knew no right but that of war, no treaties but for truces, or ranſoms.

DURING this long period of ignorance and barbariſm, policy was entirely confined to the court of Rome. It had ariſen from the artifices which had founded the papal government. As the pontiffs, by the laws of religion and the rules of the hierarchy, ruled over a very numerous clergy, which proſelytes extended perpetually in all the chriſtian ſtates, the correſpondence they kept up with the biſhops, eſtabliſhed early at Rome a center of communication for all theſe churches, or nations. All rights were ſubordinate to a religion, which reigned excluſively over all minds; it had a ſhare in almoſt every tranſaction,

BOOK XIX.

either as the motive or the means; and the popes by the Italian emiſſaries they had placed in the prelacies of Chriſtendom, never failed of being informed of all the motions, and taking advantage of all events. They had the higheſt intereſt in this; that of attaining univerſal monarchy. The barbariſm of the times in which this project was conceived, did not diminiſh its greatneſs and ſublimity. How daring was the attempt, to ſubdue without troops, nations that were always in arms! What art to make even the weakneſſes of the clergy reſpectable and ſacred! What ſkill to agitate, ſhake thrones one after the other, in order to keep them all in ſubjection! So deep, ſo extenſive a deſign could not be put in execution, but as much as it was concealed; and, therefore, was inconſiſtent with an hereditary monarchy; in which the paſſions of kings and the intrigues of miniſters, are the cauſe of ſo much inſtability in affairs. This project, and the general rule of conduct it requires, could not be formed but in an elective government, in which the chief is always choſen from a body animated with the ſame ſpirit, and imbued with the ſame maxims; in which an ariſtocratic court rather governs the prince, than ſuffers itſelf to be governed by him.

WHILE Italian policy was prying into all the ſtates of Europe, and ſeizing all occaſions, to aggrandize and confirm eccleſiaſtical power, each ſovereign ſaw with indifference the revolutions that were taking place without. Moſt of them were too much engaged in eſtabliſhing their authority in their own dominions, in diſputing the branches of power with the ſeveral bodies that were in poſſeſſion of them, or who were ſtriving againſt the natural bent that monarchy has to deſpotiſm: they were not ſufficiently maſters of their own inheritance, to interfere in the affairs of their neighbours.

THE

BOOK XIX.

THE fifteenth century changed the order of things. When the princes had collected their forces, they were inclined to bring them to action. Till that time, the nations had only carried on war with each other upon their respective frontiers. The season of the campaign was wasted in assembling troops, which every baron always raised very slowly. There were then only skirmishes between parties, no regular battles between armies. When a prince either by alliances or inheritance had acquired domains in different states, the interests were confounded, and contentions arose among the people. It was necessary to send regular troops in the pay of the monarch, to defend at a distance possessions that did not belong to the state. The crown of England no longer held provinces in the heart of France; but that of Spain acquired some rights in Germany; and that of France laid claims in Italy. From that time all Europe was in a perpetual alternative of war and negotiation.

THE ambition, the talents, and the rivalship of Charles the fifth, and Francis the first, gave rise to the present system of modern politics. Before the times of these two kings, the nations of France and Spain had disputed the kingdom of Naples, in the name of the houses of Arragon and Anjou. Their dissentions had excited a ferment throughout all Italy, and the republic of Venice was the soul of that civil re-action against two foreign powers. The Germans took a part in these commotions, either as auxiliaries, or as being concerned in them. The emperor and the pope engaged in them with almost all Christendom. But Francis the first and Charles the fifth engaged in their fate, the views, the anxiety, the destiny of all Europe. All the powers seemed to divide themselves between two rival houses, in order to weaken alternately the most powerful. Fortune favoured the talents,

BOOK XIX.

the force and the artifice of Charles the fifth. More ambitious and less voluptuous than Francis the first, his character turned the scale, and Europe inclined to his side, but did not take the bend for ever.

Philip the second, who had all the spirit of intrigue, but not the military virtues of his father, inherited his projects and ambitious views, and found the times favorable for his aggrandizement. He drained his kingdom of men and ships, and even of money, though he was in possession of the mines of the new world; and left behind him a monarchy more extensive, but the kingdom of Spain much weaker than it had been under his father.

His son imagined he should fasten the chains of Europe anew by an alliance with that branch of his house which reigned in Germany. Philip the second had detached himself from it by negligence; Philip the third resumed this political track. But in other respects he followed the erroneous, narrow, superstitious and pedantic principles of his predecessor. Within the state, there was much formality, but no order, and no œconomy. The church was perpetually devouring the state. The inquisition, that deformed monster, who hides his head in the heavens, and his feet in the infernal regions, struck at the root of population, which at the same time suffered considerably from war and the colonies. Without the state, there were still the same ambitious views, with less skilful measures. Rash and precipitate in his enterprizes, slow and stubborn in the execution of them, Philip the third had all those defects which are prejudicial to each other, and make every project miscarry. He exhausted the little life and vigour the monarchy had left. Richelieu availed himself of the weakness of Spain, and the foibles of the king whom he ruled over, to fill that period with his

his intrigues, and convey his name to posterity. Germany and Spain were in a manner connected by the house of Austria: to this league, he opposed by way of counterpoise that of France with Sweden. This system would have been the work of his times, if it had not been the work of his genius. Gustavus Adolphus by his conquests enslaved all the north. All Europe concurred in lowering the pride of Austria; and the peace of the Pyrenees turned the advantage of the scale in favour of Spain and France. BOOK XIX.

Charles the fifth had been accused of aiming at universal monarchy; and Lewis the fourteenth was taxed with the same ambition. But neither of them ever conceived so high and so rash a project. They were both of them passionately desirous of extending their empire, by aggrandizing their families. This ambition is equally natural to princes of an ordinary cast, who are born without any talents, as it is to monarchs of a superior understanding, who have neither virtue nor morals. But neither Charles the fifth, nor Lewis the fourteenth had that kind of determination, that impulse of the soul to brave every thing, which makes conquerors of heroes: they had nothing of Alexander about them. Nevertheless useful alarms were taken and spread abroad. Such alarms cannot be too soon thought of, nor too soon spread, when there arise any powers that are formidable to their neighbours. It is chiefly among nations, and with respect to kings, that fear produces safety.

When Lewis the XIVth began to look about him, perhaps, he might be surprized at seeing himself more powerful than he thought he was. His greatness was partly owing to the little harmony there was between the forces and the measures of his enemies. Europe had, indeed, felt the necessity of a common tie, but had not

BOOK XIX.

found out how to form it. In treating with this monarch, proud of ſucceſs, and vain from the applauſe he had received, it was thought a great deal was gained if all was not loſt. In ſhort, the inſulting behaviour of France which increaſed with her victories; the natural turn of her intrigues to ſpread diſſention every where, in order to reign alone; her contempt for the faith of treaties; her haughty and authoritative tone, confirmed the change of envy into hatred, and raiſed univerſal alarms. Even thoſe princes, who had ſeen without umbrage, or rather favoured the increaſe of her power, felt the neceſſity of repairing this error in politics, and underſtood that they muſt combine and raiſe among themſelves a body of forces ſuperior to thoſe of France, in order to prevent her from tyrannizing over the nations. Leagues were, therefore, formed, but for a long time without effect. One ſingle man appeared to animate and conduct them. Warmed with that public ſpirit, which only great and virtuous ſouls can poſſeſs, it was a prince, though born in a republic, who was ſeized for all Europe with that love of liberty, ſo natural to upright minds. This man turned his ambition towards the object the moſt elevated, the moſt worthy of the time in which he lived. His own intereſt never warped him from the intereſt of the public. With a courage which was entirely his own, he knew how to brave thoſe very defeats he foreſaw; expecting leſs ſucceſs from his military talents, than a happy iſſue from his patience and his political activity. Such was the ſituation of affairs, when the ſucceſſion to the throne of Spain ſet all Europe in flames.

SINCE the empire of the Perſians and that of the Romans, ambition had never been tempted by ſo rich a ſpoil. The prince, who might have joined it to his own crown, would naturally have riſen to that univerſal monarchy,

narchy, the phantom of which terrified the minds of all men. The buſineſs, therefore, was to prevent this throne from falling into the hands of a power already formidable, and to keep the balance equal between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, who had the only hereditary right to the throne.

MEN well verſed in the knowledge of the manners and affairs of Spain, have aſſerted, if we may believe Bolingbroke, that had it not been for the hoſtilities, which were then raiſed by England and Holland, we ſhould have ſeen Philip the Vth as good a Spaniard as the Philips his predeceſſors, and that the French cabinet would then have had no influence upon the Spaniſh adminiſtration; but that the war raiſed againſt the Spaniards to give them a king, obliged them to have recourſe to the fleets and armies of a crown that was alone capable of aſſiſting them in chuſing one that would ſuit them. This deep and juſt idea has been confirmed by the experience of half a century. The turn of the Spaniards has never been able to coincide with the taſte of the French. Spain, from the character of her inhabitants ſeems rather to belong to Africa than to Europe.

THE events, however, anſwered to the general wiſhes. The armies and the councils of the quadruple alliance, gained an equal ſuperiority over the common enemy. Inſtead of thoſe languid and unfortunate campaigns, which had tried but not diſcouraged the prince of Orange, all the operations of the confederates were ſucceſsful. France, in her turn, humbled and defeated on all ſides, was upon the brink of ruin, when ſhe was reſtored by the death of the emperor.

IT was then perceived, that if the archduke Charles, crowned with the imperial diadem, and ſucceeding to all the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, ſhould join Spain

BOOK XIX.

and the West-Indies to this vast inheritance, he would be in possession of that same exorbitant power, which the war had wrested from the house of Bourbon. But, the enemies of France still persisted in their design of dethroning Philip the Vth, without thinking of the person that was to succeed him; while true politicians, notwithstanding their triumphs, grew tired of a war, the very success of which always became an evil, when it could no longer do any good.

This difference of opinions raised dissentions among the allies, which prevented them from reaping all those advantages from the peace of Utrecht, which they might reasonably have expected from their success. The best barrier that could be formed to cover the provinces of the allies, was to lay open the frontiers of France. Lewis the XIVth had employed forty years in fortifying them, and his neighbours had suffered him quietly to raise these bulwarks which kept them in continual awe. It was necessary to demolish them: for every strong power that puts itself in a posture of defence, intends to form an attack. Philip remained upon the throne of Spain; and the fortifications were left standing in Flanders, and on the borders of the Rhine.

Since this period, no opportunity hath offered, to repair the imprudence committed at the peace of Utrecht. France hath always maintained its superiority on the continent: but chance hath often diminished its influence. The scales of the political balance will never be perfectly even, nor accurate enough to determine the degrees of power with exact precision. Perhaps, even this system of equality may be nothing more than a chimæra. The balance can only be fixed by treaties, and treaties can have no solidity, when they are only made between absolute monarchs, and not between nations. These acts

ought

ought to bind the people themſelves, becauſe the object of them is their peace and ſafety, which are their greateſt good: but a deſpot always ſacrifices his ſubjects to his anxiety, and his engagements to his ambition.

But it is not war alone that determines the ſuperiority of nations, as it has been hitherto imagined; ſince the laſt half century commerce hath had a great ſhare in it. While the powers of the continent meaſured and parcelled out Europe into unequal portions, which policy by leagues, treaties, and alliances always kept in equilibrium; a maritime people formed as it were a new ſyſtem, and by its induſtry made the land ſubject to the ſea; as nature herſelf has done by her laws. It formed, or unfolded that extenſive commerce, the baſis of which is an excellent agriculture, flouriſhing manufactures, and the richeſt poſſeſſions of the four quarters of the world. This is the kind of univerſal monarchy that Europe ought to wreſt from England, in reſtoring to each maritime ſtate that freedom, and that power it hath a right to have upon the element that ſurrounds it. This is a ſyſtem of public good founded upon natural equity, and in this caſe juſtice is the voice of general intereſt. The people cannot be too much warned to reſume all their powers, and to employ the reſources offered them by the climate and the ſoil they inhabit, to acquire that national and diſtinct independence in which they were born.

If all Europe were ſufficiently enlightened, and if each nation were acquainted with its rights and its real advantages, neither the continent, nor the ocean would mutually give laws to each other; but a reciprocal influence would be eſtabliſhed between the continental and maritime people, a balance of induſtry and power, which would induce a mutual intercourſe for the general benefit.

Each

BOOK XIX.

Each nation would ſow and reap upon its proper element. The ſeveral ſtates would enjoy the ſame liberty of exportation and importation that ſhould ſubſiſt between the provinces of the ſame empire.

THERE is a great error that prevails in modern politics, which is that of weakening ones enemies as much as poſſible. But, no nation can labour at the ruin of others, without paving the way for and haſtening its own ſlavery. There are certainly moments in which fortune at once throws into the way of a people a great increaſe of power; but ſuch ſudden elevations are not laſting. It is oftentimes better to ſupport rivals, than to oppreſs them. Sparta refuſed to enſlave Athens, and Rome repented of having deſtroyed Carthage.

THIS elevation of ideas, which belongs ſtill more to nations than to kings, would prevent politicians from the neceſſity of committing many crimes and aſſerting many falſehoods; and would remove many impediments and difficulties out of the way of negotiators. At preſent, the complication of affairs hath rendered negotiations very intricate. Policy, like that inſidious inſect that weaves its web in darkneſs, hath ſtretched forth its net in the midſt of Europe, and faſtened it, as it were, to every court. One ſingle thread cannot be touched without drawing all the reſt. The loweſt ſovereign hath ſome hidden concern in the treaties between the great powers. Two petty princes of Germany cannot exchange a fief, or a domain, without being thwarted or ſeconded by the courts of Vienna, Verſailles, or London. Negotiations muſt be carried on in all the cabinets for years together for every the moſt trifling change in the diſpoſition of the land. The blood of the people is the only thing that is not bargained for. War is determined upon in a couple of days, peace is dragged on for years.

years. This ſlowneſs in negotiations, which proceeds from the nature of things, is partly owing alſo to the character of the negotiators.

Most of theſe are ignorant men, who are treating with ſome enlightened perſons. There are, perhaps, two or three wiſe and judicious cabinets in Europe. The reſt are in poſſeſſion of intriguing men, raiſed to the management of affairs by the paſſions and ſhameful pleaſures of a maſter and his miſtreſſes. A man is advanced to a ſhare in the adminiſtration, without knowing any thing of the matter; he adopts the firſt ſyſtem that is offered to his caprice; purſues it without underſtanding it, and with ſo much the more obſtinacy the more ignorant he is; he overturns all that has been done by his predeceſſors, in order to lay the foundations of his own ſyſtem, which he will never be able to raiſe. Richelieu's firſt declaration, when he became miniſter, was: *the council hath altered its plan.* This ſaying, which was once found to be a good one, in the mouth of one ſingle man, has, perhaps, been repeated, or thought of, by every one of Richelieu's ſucceſſors. All public men have the vanity, not only to proportion the parade of their expence, of their manner, and of their air, to the height of their office; but even to ſwell the opinion they have of their underſtanding, in proportion to the influence of their authority.

When a nation is great and powerful, what ſhould its governors be? The court and the people will anſwer this queſtion, but in a very different manner. The miniſters ſee nothing in their office but the enlargement of their rights; the people ſee nothing but the enlargement of their duties. The ideas of the people are juſt; for the obligations and rights of each government ought to be regulated by the wants and deſires of each nation. But this

BOOK XIX.

this principle of natural right is not applicable to the ſocial ſtate. As ſocieties, whatever be their origin, are almoſt all of them ſubject to the authority of one ſingle man, political meaſures are dependent on the character of the prince.

If the king is a weak and unſteady man, his government will change as his miniſters, and his politics will vary with his government. He will have alternately miniſters, ignorant or enlightened, ſteady or fickle, deceitful or ſincere, harſh or humane, inclined to war or peace; ſuch, in a word, as the viciſſitude of intrigues will produce them. Such a government will neither have ſyſtem nor order in its politics; and all other governments will not be able to keep up fixed views and permanent meaſures with it. The ſyſtem of politics muſt then vary with the day, or the moment; that is, with the humour of the prince.

But the fate of nations and political intereſts are very different in republican governments. As the authority there reſides in the collective body of the people, there are certain principles and ſome public intereſts that prevail in the negotiations. In this caſe the permanency of a ſyſtem is not to be confined to a duration of a miniſtry, or to the life of one ſingle man. The general ſpirit that exiſts and perpetuates itſelf in the nation, is the only rule of the negotiations. Not but that a powerful citizen, or an eloquent demagogue, may ſometimes lead a popular government into a political miſtake; but this is eaſily recovered. Faults, in theſe inſtances, are leſſons, as well as ſucceſſes are. Great events, and not men, produce remarkable periods in the hiſtory of republics. It is in vain to attempt to over-reach a free people by artifice, or intrigues in a treaty of peace, or alliance. Their maxims will always bring them back to their laſting

ing intereſts, and all engagements will give way to the ſupreme law. In theſe governments, it is the ſafety of the people that does every thing, while in others it is the will of the maſter. BOOK XIX.

THIS contraſt of political maxims has rendered popular conſtitutions ſuſpicious or odious to all abſolute monarchs. They have been under apprehenſions leaſt the republican ſpirit ſhould reach to their own ſubjects, the weight of whoſe chains they are every day increaſing. One may, therefore, perceive a kind of ſecret conſpiracy between all monarchies, to deſtroy, or inſenſibly to ſap the foundations of all free ſtates. But liberty will ariſe from the midſt of oppreſſion. It is already in every heart; and it will be conveyed by public writings into the minds of all enlightened men; and by tyranny into the hearts of the people. All men will, at length, feel, and this period is at no great diſtance, that liberty is the firſt gift of heaven, as it is the firſt ſource of virtue. The inſtruments of deſpotiſm will become its deſtroyers; and the enemies of humanity, thoſe who ſeem armed at preſent merely to fight againſt it, will exert themſelves in its defence.

WAR, as well as ſociety, has exiſted at all times and in all countries; but the art of war is only to be found in certain ages of the world, and among certain people. The Greeks inſtituted it, and conquered all the forces of Aſia. The Romans improved it and conquered the world. Theſe two nations worthy to command all others, ſince they raiſed themſelves by genius and by virtue, owed their ſuperiority to the infantry, in which every ſingle man exerts his whole ſtrength. The phalanxes and the legions were victorious every where. War.

WHEN indolence rather than activity had introduced cavalry into their armies, Rome loſt ſome of its glory and

BOOK XIX.

and ſucceſs. Notwithſtanding the exact diſcipline of its troops, it could no longer make a reſiſtance to barbarous nations, that fought on foot.

YET, theſe half-ſavage men, who with arms alone and the mere powers of nature, had ſubdued the moſt extenſive and moſt civilized empire of the univerſe, ſoon changed their infantry into cavalry. This was properly called the line of battle, or the army. All the nobility were in poſſeſſion of the lands and the privileges, thoſe appurtenances of victory, choſe to ride on horſeback; while the enſlaved people were left on foot, almoſt without arms and without eſtimation.

IN times when the gentleman was diſtinguiſhed by his horſe; when the man was nothing, but the rider was all; when wars were nothing but irruptions, and campaigns but a day; when ſucceſs depended upon the quickneſs of marches: then the fate of armies was determined by cavalry. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there were ſcarce any other troops in Europe. The dexterity and ſtrength of men was no longer ſhewn in wreſtling, at the ceſtus, in the exerciſe of the arms, and of all the muſcles of the body; but in tournaments, in managing a horſe, and in throwing the lance in full ſpeed. This ſpecies of war, more ſuitable to wandering Tartars, than to fixed and ſedentary ſocieties, was one of the errors of the feudal government. A race of conquerors, whoſe rights were only in their ſwords; whoſe merit and glory was in their arms; who had no other occupation than hunting, could hardly avoid riding on horſeback, with all that train of pride and ſpirit of authority they muſt neceſſarily acquire from a rude and uncultivated underſtanding. But what could troops of heavy-armed cavalry avail in the attack and defence of caſtles

caſtles and towns, fortified by walls or by ſurrounding waters?

It is this imperfection in the military art which occaſioned a war to laſt uninterruptedly for ages, between France and England. War was carried on perpetually for want of a ſufficient number of combatants. Whole months were required to collect, to arm, to lead into the field troops that were only to ſtay there for a few weeks. Kings could not aſſemble more than a certain number of vaſſals, and thoſe at ſtated times. The lords had only a right to call under their banners ſome of their tenants, at ſtipulated terms. Forms and rules then waſted all the time in war, as they now abſorb all fortunes in the courts of juſtice. At length the French tired with being conſtantly obliged to repulſe the Engliſh, like the horſe that implored the aſſiſtance of man againſt the ſtag, ſuffered the yoke and burthen to be impoſed upon them, which they bear to this day. Kings raiſed, in their own pay, troops that ſubſiſted always. Charles the ſeventh, after having expelled the Engliſh with mercenaries, when he diſbanded his army, kept nine thouſand horſe, and ſixteen thouſand infantry.

This was the origin of the abaſement of the nobility, and the elevation of monarchy; of the political liberty of the nation without, and its civil ſlavery within. The people were delivered from feudal tyranny, but to fall ſome time or other under the deſpotiſm of kings. So much does human nature ſeem born for ſlavery! It became neceſſary to raiſe a fund for the payment of a militia; and the taxes were arbitrary, and unlimited as the number of ſoldiers, that were diſtributed in the different parts of the kingdom, under a pretence of guarding the frontiers againſt the enemy; but, in fact, to reſtrain and oppreſs the ſubject. The officers, commanders and governors

BOOK XIX

vernors were tools of government always armed againſt the nation itſelf. They and their ſoldiers no longer looked upon themſelves, as citizens of the ſtate, ſolely devoted to the defence of the property and rights of the people. They acknowledged no longer any perſon in the kingdom, except the king, in whoſe name they were ready to maſſacre their fathers and brothers. In ſhort, the militia of the nation was nothing more than a royal militia.

THE diſcovery of gunpowder which required large expences and great preparation, forges, magazines, and arſenals, made arms more than ever dependent on kings, and completed the advantage that infantry hath over cavalry. The latter preſented the flank of the man and horſe to the former. A horſeman diſmounted was either loſt or good for nothing; and a horſe without a leader carried confuſion and diſmay among the ranks. The havock which the artillery and fire-arms made in ſquadrons was more difficult to repair than it was in the battalion. In a word, men could be bought and diſciplined at a leſs expence than horſes: and this made it eaſy for kings to have ſoldiers.

THUS the innovation of Charles the ſeventh, fatal to his ſubjects, at leaſt in futurity, became from his example prejudicial to the liberty of all the people of Europe. Every nation was obliged to keep itſelf upon the defence againſt a nation always in arms. The right ſyſtem of politics, if there were any politics at a time when the arts, literature and commerce had not yet opened a communication among people, would have been, that the princes ſhould all together have fallen upon that one who had put himſelf into a ſtate of continual war. But inſtead of compelling him to lay down his arms, they took up arms themſelves. This contagion ſpread itſelf the quicker,

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as it appeared the only remedy againſt the danger of an invaſion, the only guarantee of the ſecurity of the nations.

THERE was however in all parts a want of the knowledge neceſſary to diſcipline a body of infantry, the importance of which began to be perceived. The manner of fighting which the Switzers had uſed againſt the Burgundians, had rendered them as famous as formidable. With weighty ſwords and long halberds, they had always overcome the horſes and men of the feudal militia. Their ranks being impenetrable, and marching on in cloſe columns, they overthrew all that attacked, and all that oppoſed them. Every power was then deſirous of having ſome of theſe ſoldiers. But, the Switzers, ſenſible of the need there was of their aſſiſtance, and ſetting the purchaſe of it at too high a rate, it became neceſſary to reſolve to do without them, and to form in all parts a national infantry, in order not to depend upon theſe auxiliary troops.

THE Germans were the firſt to adopt a diſcipline that required only ſtrength of body, and ſubordination. Proceeding from a country abounding in men and horſes, they almoſt rivalled the reputation of the Swiſs infantry, without loſing the advantage of their own cavalry.

THE French, more lively, adopted with greater difficulty, and more ſlowly, a kind of militia that laid a reſtraint upon all their motions, and ſeemed rather to require perſeverance than impetuoſity. But the taſte for imitation and novelty prevailed among this light people, over that vanity which is fond of its own cuſtoms.

THE Spaniards, notwithſtanding the pride they have been reproached with, improved upon the Switzers, by bringing to greater perfection the diſcipline of that warlike

BOOK XIX.

people. They formed an infantry which became alternately the terror and admiration of Europe.

In proportion as the infantry increaſed, the cuſtom and ſervice of the feudal militia ceaſed in all parts, and the war was more and more extended. National conſtitution had for ages paſt ſcarce allowed the ſeveral people to wage war beyond the barriers of their own ſtates. It was carried on upon the frontiers only between the neighbouring powers. When France and Spain had tried their arms in the moſt remote extremities of Italy, it was no longer poſſible to call together the ban and arriere ban of the nations; becauſe it was not in fact the people who made war againſt each other, but the kings with their troops, for the honour of themſelves or their families, without any regard to the good of their ſubjects. Not that the princes did not endeavour to intereſt the national pride of the people in their quarrels; but this was done merely to weaken or totally to ſubdue that ſpirit of independence which was ſtill ſtruggling among ſome ſets of men, againſt that abſolute authority which the princes had gradually aſſumed.

All Europe was in commotion. The Germans in Italy; the Italians in Germany; the French in both theſe countries. The Turks were ſet down before Naples and Nice; and the Spaniards were all at once, in Africa, in Hungary, in Italy, in Germany, in France, and in the low countries. All theſe nations irritated, and practiſed in war, became adepts in the art of fighting and deſtroying each other with infallible regularity and preciſion.

It was religion that cauſed the Germans to contend with the Germans; the French with the French; but which more particularly excited Flanders againſt Spain. It was on the fens of Holland that fell all the rage of a bigotted

bigotted and deſpotic king; of a ſuperſtitious and ſanguinary prince; of two Philips, and a duke of Alba. It was in the low countries that a republic aroſe from the perſecutions of tyranny, and the flames of the inquiſition. When freedom had broken her chains, and found an aſylum in the ocean, ſhe raiſed her bulwarks upon the continent. The Dutch were the firſt who put in practice the art of fortifying places: ſo much doth genius and invention belong to free minds. Their example was followed in all parts. Extenſive ſtates had only occaſion to fortify their frontiers. Germany and Italy, divided among a number of princes, were thick ſet with ſtrong citadels from one end to the other. When we travel through theſe countries, we meet every evening with gates ſhut and draw-bridges at the entrance of the towns.

WHILE the Dutch were improving the art of fortifying, attacking, and defending towns, the Swedes were employed in forming, as it were, the military ſcience of the field. Guſtavus Adolphus was eminently ſkilled in the art of war, which other nations have acquired at times, but which the Germans have always preſerved, as peculiarly attached to their climate. There are ſoldiers in other parts, but it is Germany alone that furniſhes generals.

THIS art had been in conſtant uſe for a century paſt, when it was remarkably improved by Lewis the fourteenth. He firſt introduced the cuſtom of wearing a uniform; of carrying the bayonet at the end of the fire-lock; of making uſe of the artillery to advantage; in a word, of increaſing to the utmoſt the deſtructive powers of fire and ſword.

THE king of Pruſſia alone hath invented a new method of diſciplining armies, of heading battles, and of gaining victories. This prince, who would have been better

BOOK XIX.

ſerved by another nation, and certainly better commended than he could poſſibly be by his own; who hath not had, ſince Alexander, his equal in hiſtory for extent and variety of talents; who without having been himſelf formed by Greeks, hath been able to form Lacedemonians; he, in a word, who hath deſerved, beyond all others, that his name ſhould be recorded in his age, as a diſtinction vying in greatneſs with thoſe of the fineſt ages of the world: this ſame king of Pruſſia hath totally changed the principles of war, by giving in ſome meaſure to the legs an advantage over the arms; that is to ſay, that by the rapidity of his evolutions and the celerity of his marches, he hath always excelled his enemies, even when he hath not conquered them. All the nations of Europe have been obliged to imitate his example, in order not to be obliged to ſubmit to him. He will enjoy the glory, ſince it is one, of having raiſed the art of war to a degree of perfection, from which fortunately it cannot but degenerate.

It is not to him, but to Lewis the fourteenth, that we muſt aſcribe that prodigious multiplicity of troops, which preſents us with the ſpectacle of war even in the midſt of peace. In imitation of that monarch, who had always a numerous army on foot, all the princes of Europe, whether ruling over large or ſmall ſtates, have kept bodies of troops, oftentimes more burdenſome to the ſubject from the expences of their pay, than uſeful for the defence of the ſtate. Some of the moſt politic among them have engaged theſe troops in the pay of greater powers; and thus by a double advantage, they have contrived to raiſe large ſums of money for lives which were always ſold but never expoſed.

What right then have we to exclaim againſt thoſe ages of barbarous manners under the feudal government? War was then no more than a ſtate of commotion, a tem-

tempeſtuous period; but at preſent it is almoſt a natural ſtate. Moſt governments now either are, or become military. Even the improvement of diſcipline is a proof of it. Security in our fields, tranquillity in the cities, whether troops are paſſing through or are quartered in them; the police which prevails about camps and in garriſoned towns, do, indeed, ſhew us that arms have ſome reſtraint, but at the ſame time indicate that every thing is ſubject to their power.

THOUGH the licenciouſneſs and plunder of the ſoldier are reſtrained, the people are obliged to pay dear for this ſecurity, by the levying of taxes and militia. It is not merely by battles that war is fatal. A million of men loſt or deſtroyed are nothing out of a hundred million which Europe may, perhaps, contain. But this million are the flower of the population, the choiceſt of the youth, the ſource of reproduction, the life of induſtry and labour. And in order to ſupport and recruit this million of troops, all the ſeveral orders of ſociety muſt be burdened, which encroaching one upon the other, muſt neceſſarily oppreſs the loweſt and moſt uſeful of them, that of the huſbandmen. The increaſe of taxes and the difficulty of collecting them, deſtroy from want or hunger thoſe very families, that are the parents and nurſeries of the manufactures and the armies.

ANOTHER inconvenience ariſing from the increaſe of troops, is a diminution of bravery. There are few men that are born fit for war. If we except Lacedæmon and Rome, where women that were free citizens brought forth ſoldiers; where children were lulled to ſleep, and awakened with the noiſe of trumpets and warlike ſongs; where education rendered men unnatural, and made them beings of a different ſpecies: all other nations have only had a few brave men amongſt them. And, indeed, the

BOOK XIX.

leſſer is the number of troops raiſed, the better will they be. Formerly, among our anceſtors, leſs civilized but ſtronger than we are, the armies were much leſs numerous than ours, but the engagements were more deciſive. It was neceſſary to be a noble or a rich man to ſerve in the army, which was looked upon both as an honour and a privilege. None but volunteers bore the ſtandard. All their engagements ended with the campaign; and any man who diſliked the art of war, was at liberty to withdraw himſelf. Beſides, there was then more of that heat of the blood, of that greatneſs of ſentiment which conſtitutes true courage. At preſent, what glory is there in ſerving under abſolute commanders, who judge of men by their ſize, eſtimate them by their pay, enliſt them by force or by ſtratagem, and keep or diſcharge them at pleaſure without their conſent, as they have taken them? What honour is there in aſpiring to the command of armies under the baneful influence of courts, where every thing is given or taken away without reaſon; where men without merit are raiſed, and others without offence are degraded by mere caprice? Therefore, except in riſing empires, or in critical times, the greater number there are of ſoldiers in the ſtate, the more is the nation weakened; and in proportion as a ſtate is enfeebled, the number of its ſoldiers is increaſed.

A third inconvenience is, that the increaſe of the militia tends to deſpotiſm. A number of troops, towns well fortified, magazines and arſenals may prevent irruptions; but in preſerving a people from the invaſions of a conqueror, they do not ſecure them from the encroachments of a deſpotic prince. So many ſoldiers do but keep thoſe that are already ſlaves in chains. The ſtrongeſt then prevails, and makes every thing conform to his will, as every thing is ſubſervient to his power.

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By the force of arms alone, he ſets the opinions of men at defiance, and inforces obedience. With ſoldiers he levies taxes; and by taxes he raiſes ſoldiers. He imagines that he exerts and ſhews his authority, by deſtroying what he hath formed; but his exertions are vain and fruitleſs. He is perpetually renewing his militia, without ever being able to recover the national ſtrength. In vain do his ſoldiers keep his people in continual awe; if his ſubjects tremble at his troops; his troops in return will fly from the enemy. But in theſe circumſtances, the loſs of battle is the loſs of a kingdom. The hearts of all being alienated, are impatient of ſubmitting to a foreign yoke; becauſe under the dominion of a conqueror, there are ſtill hopes, under that of a deſpot, there is nothing but apprehenſion. When the progreſs of the military government hath induced deſpotiſm, then the nation is loſt. The ſoldiery ſoon becomes inſolent and deteſted. Families become extinct by barrenneſs occaſioned from wretchedneſs and debauchery. A ſpirit of diſcord and hatred prevails amongſt all orders of men, that are either corrupted or diſgraced. Societies betray, ſell, and plunder each other, and give themſelves up one after another to the ſcourges of the deſpot, who oppreſſes, deſtroys, and annihilates them all. Such is the end of that art of war, which induces a military government. Let us now conſider the influence of the navy. BOOK XIX.

Navy.

THE antients have tranſmitted to us almoſt all thoſe arts, that have been revived with the reſtoration of letters; but we have gone beyond them in the military management of the navy. Tyre and Sidon, Carthage and Rome, ſcarce knew any ſea but the Mediterranean; to ſail through which it was only neceſſary to have rafts, gallies, and men to row them. Sea engagements might then be obſtinate; but it required no great ſkill to con-

BOOK XIX.

ſtruct and equip the fleets. To paſs from Europe into Africa, nothing was neceſſary, but what may be called flat-bottomed boats which landed Carthaginians or Romans; who were almoſt the only people engaged in ſea fights. The Athenians and the republics of Aſia, were fortunately more employed in commerce than in fighting.

AFTER theſe famous nations had abandoned both the land and the ſea to plunderers and to pirates, the navy remained during twelve centuries, in that ſtate of annihilation into which all the other arts were fallen. Theſe ſwarms of barbarians, who over-ran and totally deſtroyed Rome, came from the Baltic, upon rafts or canoes, to ravage and plunder our ſea-coaſts, without quitting, however, the continent. Theſe were not voyages, but deſcents upon the coaſt that were continually renewed. The Danes and Normans were not armed for a cruize, and ſcarce knew how to fight but upon land.

AT length, chance or the Chineſe ſupplied the Europeans with the compaſs, and the compaſs gained them America. The needle, which taught ſailors to know how far they were diſtant from the north, or how near they approached to it, emboldened them to attempt longer voyages, and to loſe ſight of land for whole months together. Geometry and aſtronomy taught them how to compute the progreſs of the conſtellations, to determine the longitude by them, and to judge pretty nearly how far they were advancing to the eaſt and to the weſt. Even at that time, the height and the diſtance of veſſels from the coaſt might always have been known. Though the knowledge of the longitudes be much more inaccurate than that of the latitudes, yet both the one and the other had ſoon ſufficiently improved navigation, to give riſe to the art of carrying on war by ſea. The firſt eſſay, however, of this art was made between gallies that were

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in poſſeſſion of the Mediterranean. The moſt celebrated engagement of the modern navy was that of Lepanto, which was given two centuries ago, between two hundred and five chriſtian, and two hundred and ſixty Turkiſh gallies. It was Italy alone, which hath invented every thing and preſerved nothing, that had conſtructed this prodigious armament; but at that time, its trade, its population were the double of what they are at preſent. Beſides, thoſe gallies were neither ſo long nor ſo large as thoſe of our times, as we may judge of ſome of the old carcaſes that are ſtill preſerved in the arſenal of Venice. The number of rowers amounted to one hundred and fifty, and the troops did not exceed fourſcore in one galley. At this day Venice has more beautiful gallies and leſs influence upon that ſea which the doge marries, and which other powers frequent and trade upon.

GALLIES, indeed, were very proper for criminals; but ſtronger veſſels were required for ſoldiers. The art of conſtructing ſhips improved with that of navigation. Philip the ſecond, king of all Spain, and of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, employed all the docks of Spain and Portugal, Naples and Sicily which he then poſſeſſed, in conſtructing ſhips of an extrordinary ſize and ſtrength; and his fleet aſſumed the title of the Invincible Armada. It conſiſted of one hundred and thirty ſhips, near one hundred of which were the largeſt that had yet been ſeen on the ocean. Twenty ſmall ſhips followed this fleet, and ſailed or fought under its protection. The pride of the Spaniards, in the ſixteenth century, hath dwelt very much upon and exaggerated the pompous deſcription of this formidable armament. But what ſpread terror and admiration two centuries ago, would now ſerve only to excite laughter. The largeſt of thoſe ſhips would be no more than a third-rate veſſel in our ſquadrons. They were ſo heavily

BOOK XIX.

heavily armed, and ſo ill-conducted, that they could neither move, nor fail near the wind, nor board another veſſel, nor could the ſhip be properly worked in tempeſtuous weather. The ſailors were as awkward as the ſhips were heavy, and the pilots almoſt as ignorant as the ſailors.

The Engliſh, who were already acquainted with the weakneſs and little ſkill of their enemies at ſea, concluded that their inexperience would occaſion their defeat. Satisfied with avoiding to board theſe weighty machines, they burned a part of them. Some of theſe enormous galleons were taken, others diſabled. A ſtorm came on: moſt of the ſhips had loſt their anchors; they were abandoned by their crews to the fury of the waves, and caſt away, ſome upon the weſtern coaſts of Scotland, others upon the coaſts of Ireland. Scarce one half of this invincible fleet was able to return to Spain, where its tattered condition, joined to the terror of the ſailors, ſpread a conſternation throughout the land, from which it has never recovered. The Spaniards were for ever depreſſed by the loſs of an armament that had coſt three years of preparation, and upon which all the forces and revenues of the kingdom were almoſt exhauſted.

The deſtruction of the Spaniſh navy occaſioned the dominion of the ſea to paſs into the hands of the Dutch. The pride of their former tyrants could not be more properly puniſhed than by the proſperity of a people, forced by oppreſſion to break the yoke of regal authority. When this republic began to raiſe its head from amidſt its ſens, the reſt of Europe was embroiled in civil wars by the ſpirit of fanaticiſm. Perſecution drove men into Holland from all other ſtates. The inquiſition which the houſe of Auſtria wiſhed to extend over all parts of its dominion; the perſecution which Henry the ſecond

raiſed

faiſed in France; the emiſſaries of Rome, who were ſupported in England by Mary; every thing, in a word, concurred to people Holland with an immenſe number of refugees. This country had neither lands, nor harveſt for their ſubſiſtence. They were forced to ſeek it by ſea throughout the whole univerſe. Almoſt all the commerce of Europe was engroſſed by Liſbon, Cadiz and Antwerp, under one ſovereign, whoſe power and ambition made him an univerſal object of hatred and envy. The new republicans, having eſcaped his tyranny, and being excited by reſentment and neceſſity, became pirates, and formed a navy at the expence of the Spaniards and Portugueſe, whom they held in utter averſion. France and England, who in the advancement of the riſing republic, foreſaw nothing more than the humiliation of the houſe of Auſtria, aſſiſted her in preſerving conqueſts and ſpoils, the value of which they were yet unacquainted with. Thus the Dutch ſecured to themſelves eſtabliſhments whenever they choſe; fixed themſelves in theſe acquiſitions before the jealouſy of other nations could be excited, and imperceptibly made themſelves maſters of all commerce by their induſtry, and of all the ſeas by the ſtrength of their ſquadrons.

The domeſtic contentions in England were for a while favourable to this proſperity, which had been ſo ſilently acquired in remote countries. But at length Cromwell rouzed in his country the emulation of commerce, ſo natural to the inhabitants of an iſland. To ſhare the empire of the ſeas with them was, in fact, to give it up to them; and the Dutch were determined to keep it. Inſtead of ſeeking the alliance of England, they courageouſly reſolved upon war. They carried it on for a long time with unequal force; and this perſeverance againſt misfortune preſerved to them, at leaſt, an honourable rivalſhip.

BOOK XIX.

rivalſhip. Superiority in the conſtruction and form of the ſhips often gave the victory to their enemies; but the vanquiſhed never met with any deciſive loſſes.

These long and dreadful combats, however, had exhauſted, or, at leaſt, diminiſhed the ſtrength of the two nations, when Lewis XIV, willing to avail himſelf of their mutual weakneſs, aſpired to the empire of the ſea. When this prince firſt aſſumed the reins of government, he found no more than eight or nine veſſels in his harbours, and thoſe half rotten; neither were they ſhips of the firſt or ſecond rate. Richelieu had known the neceſſity of raiſing a pier before Rochelle, but not of forming a navy; the idea of which muſt, however, have been conceived by Henry the IVth and his friend Sully. But it was reſerved to the fineſt age of the French nation to give birth to every improvement at once. Lewis, who caught, at leaſt, all the ideas of grandeur, he did not himſelf create, eſtabliſhed a council for the conſtruction of ſhips in each of the five ports which he opened to the royal or military navy. He formed docks and arſenals; and in leſs than twenty years, the French had one hundred ſhips of the line.

They firſt tried their ſtrength with the people of Barbary, who were beaten. They afterwards lowered the Spaniſh flag. Then, engaging with the fleets of England and Holland, ſometimes ſeparate, and ſometimes combined, they generally gained the honour and advantage of the fight. The firſt memorable defeat the French navy experienced, was in 1692, when with forty ſhips, they attacked 90 Engliſh and Dutch ſhips oppoſite La Hogue in order to give the Engliſh a king they would not have, and who was not himſelf very deſirous of the title. The moſt numerous fleet obtained the victory. James the ſecond felt an involuntary pleaſure at the triumph of the

the people who expelled him; as if at this inſtant the blind love of his country had prevailed within him, over his ambition for the throne. Since that day the naval powers of France have been upon the decline, and have never been re-eſtabliſhed. BOOK XIX.

FROM that period England aſſumed a ſuperiority, which hath carried it to the higheſt pitch of proſperity. A people, who are at preſent the firſt upon the ſeas, eaſily perſuade themſelves that they have always held that empire. Sometimes they trace their maritime power to the æra of Julius Cæſar; ſometimes they will aſſert that they have ruled over the ocean, at leaſt, ſince the ninth century. Perhaps, ſome day or other, the Corſicans who are nothing at preſent, when they are become a maritime people, will record in their annals that they have always ruled over the Mediterranean. Such is the vanity of mankind, they muſt endeavour to aggrandize themſelves in paſt as well as future times. Truth alone, that exiſts before all nations and ſurvives them all, informs us, that there hath been no navy in Europe from the chriſtian æra till the 16th century. The Engliſh themſelves had no need of it, while they remained in poſſeſſion of Normandy and of the coaſts of France.

WHEN Henry the VIIIth wanted to equip a fleet he was obliged to hire veſſels from Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Dantzic; but eſpecially from Genoa and Venice, who alone knew how to conſtruct and guide a fleet; who ſupplied all the ſailors and admirals; who gave to Europe a Columbus, an Americus, a Cabot, a Verezani, thoſe wonderful men who have added ſo much to the extent of the globe. Elizabeth wanted a naval force againſt Spain, and permitted her ſubjects to arm ſhips to act againſt the enemies of ſtate. This permiſſion formed the military ſailors. The queen herſelf went to ſee a ſhip that had been

BOOK XIX.

been round the world; where she embraced Drake, at the time she knighted him. She left forty-two men of war to her successors. James the first and Charles the first, added some ships to the naval forces they had received from the throne; but the commanders of this navy were chosen from the nobility, who satisfied with the honours, left the labours to the pilots; so that the art of navigation received no improvements.

There were few noblemen in the party that dethroned the Stuarts. Ships of the line were given to captains of ordinary extraction, but of uncommon skill in navigation. They improved, and made the British navy illustrious.

When Charles II. reascended the throne, the kingdom was possessed of six and fifty ships. It increased under his reign, to the number of eighty-three, fifty-eight of which were ships of the line. Towards the latter days of this prince, it began to decline again. But, his brother, James II. restored it to his former lustre, and raised it even to a greater degree of splendour. Being himself high admiral before he came to the throne, he had invented the art of regulating the manœuvres of the fleet, by the signals of the flag. Happy, if he had better understood the art of governing a free people! When the prince of Orange, his son-in-law, seized his crown, the English navy consisted of one hundred and sixty-three vessels of all sizes, armed with seven thousand pieces of cannon, and equipped with forty-two thousand men. This force was doubled during the war that was carried on for the Spanish succession. It hath since increased so much, that the English think they are able alone to balance by their maritime forces the navy of the whole universe. England is now at sea, what Rome formerly was

was upon land, when she began to fall from her great- BOOK XIII.
ness.

The English nation considers its navy as the bulwark of its safety, and the source of its riches. It is in peace, as in war, the center of all its hopes. It raises, therefore, a fleet more willingly, and with greater expedition than a battalion. It spares no expence, no political measures to acquire seamen.

First the allurements of reward are put in action. The parliament in 1744, decreed, that all prizes taken by a man of war, should belong to the officers and crew of the conquering ship. They likewise granted an additional gratification of five pounds sterling to every Englishman, who in an engagement, should board, take, or sink an enemy's ship. To the allurements of profit, the government adds compulsive measures, if they become necessary. In times of war, they seize upon sailors of the mercantile navy.

Nothing is apparently so contradictory to national freedom, as these exertions of authority upon men and commerce at the same time. Yet as these acts of violence do not take place unless in consequence of the necessities of the republic; they cannot be considered as encroachments upon liberty; because their object is the public safety; which is the particular interest of those who appear to be the victims of them; and because the state of society requires, that the will of each individual should be subservient to the will of the whole community. Besides, the sailors receive the same pay from the government, they would get from the trader, which totally justifies this compulsive measure; a measure which is always most advantageous to the state. The sailor is no longer at the charge of the public, but while he continues in its service. The expeditions are by these means carried

BOOK XIX.

carried on with greater ſecrecy and diſpatch; and the crews are never idle. In a word, if this were an inconvenience, it is ſurely not worſe than that perpetual ſlavery, in which all other European ſailors are held.

THE navy is a new kind of power, which muſt change the face of the globe. It hath defeated the old ſyſtem of equilibrium. Germany, which held the balance between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, hath ceded it to England; which iſland diſpoſes at preſent of the continent. As by means of its ſhips it is in the vicinity of all maritime countries, its power of aſſiſting or doing hurt is extended over a greater number of ſtates. It has, therefore, a greater number of allies, a higher degree of conſideration and influence. It is this iſland whoſe empire is eſtabliſhed over America; becauſe it hath men and arts in that country inſtead of gold and the materials of luxury. England is of itſelf the lever of the univerſe. She occaſions the greateſt revolutions; and carries the deſtiny of nations upon her fleets. She is accuſed of aſpiring to be ſole miſtreſs of navigation and trade. This empire which ſhe might, perhaps, obtain for a ſhort time, would occaſion her ruin. The univerſal monarchy of the ſeas is not a leſs preſumptuous project, than that of the land.

FRANCE is continually exclaiming that there is a neceſſity of eſtabliſhing an equilibrium of power upon ſea: but ſhe is ſuſpected of being deſirous not to have any maſters upon it, in order to have no longer any rivals on the continent, at leaſt, Spain is the only power that has been hitherto perſuaded to join her. It is a happy circumſtance for Europe that the maritime forces ſhould cauſe a diverſion to thoſe of the land. Any power that has its own coaſts to defend, cannot eaſily overcome the barriers of its neighbours. For this purpoſe immenſe

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preparations are required; numberleſs troops; arſenals of all kinds; and a double proviſion of means and reſources, in order to put ſchemes of conqueſt into execution. Since navigation hath prevailed in Europe, it enjoys greater ſecurity at home, and a more preponderating influence abroad. Its wars are, perhaps, neither leſs frequent, nor leſs bloody; but it ſuffers leſs ravage, and is leſs weakened by them. The operations are carried on with more harmony, more connection, and there are leſs of thoſe great effects that throw all ſyſtems into confuſion. There are more attempts and leſs miſchief. All the various paſſions of men ſeemed directed towards one general good, one grand political view, one happy employment of all natural and moral faculties; which is no other than commerce.

Commerce.

If the art of navigation aroſe from fiſhing, as that of war did from the chace; the navy then owes its exiſtence to commerce. The deſire of gain firſt induced us to make voyages; and one world hath been conquered to enrich another. This object of conqueſt has been the foundation of commerce; in order to ſupport commerce naval forces have become neceſſary, which are themſelves produced by the trading navigation. The Phenicians, ſituated on the borders of the ſea at the confines of Aſia and Africa, to receive and diſpenſe all the riches of the antient world, founded their colonies and built their cities, with no other view but that of commerce. At Tyre, they were the maſters of the Mediterranean; at Carthage, they laid the foundations of a republic that traded by the ocean upon the beſt of the European coaſts.

The Greeks ſucceeded the Phenicians; the Romans came after the Carthaginians and the Greeks; they held the dominion of the ſea as well as of the land; but they

BOOK XIX.

carried on no other kind of commerce, except that of conveying into Italy, for their own uſe, all the riches of Africa, Aſia, and the conquered world. When Rome had invaded the whole world, and had loſt all her acquiſitions, commerce returned, as it were, to its original ſource towards the eaſt. There it was eſtabliſhed, while the Barbarians over-ran Europe. The empire was divided; the din of arms, and the art of war remained in the weſt; but Italy preſerved, at leaſt, its communication with the Levant, where all the treaſures of India were circulated.

The Cruſades exhauſted in Aſia all the rage of zeal and ambition, of war and fanaticiſm, with which the Europeans were poſſeſſed: but they brought back into Europe the taſte of Aſiatic luxury; and redeemed by the commencement of commerce and induſtry, the blood and the lives they had coſt. Three centuries taken up in wars and voyages to the eaſt, gave to the reſtleſs ſpirit of Europe a recruit it ſtood in need of; that it might not periſh by a ſort of internal conſumption: they prepared the way for that ebullition of genius and activity, which ſince aroſe, and diſplayed itſelf in the conqueſt and trade of the Weſt-Indies, and of America.

The Portugueſe attempted by degrees to double the African coaſt. They ſucceſſively ſeized upon all the points, and all the ports that muſt neceſſarily lead them to the Cape of Good Hope. They were engaged, for the ſpace of fourſcore years, in making themſelves maſters of all that weſtern coaſt, where this great cape terminates. In 1497, Vaſco de Gama ſurmounted this barrier; and re-aſcending by the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, arrived by a paſſage of twelve hundred leagues at the coaſt of Malabar, where all the treaſures of the richeſt countries

tries of Aſia were poured in. This was the ſpot on which the Portugueſe made their conqueſts. BOOK XIX.

WHILE this nation ſecured the mercantile articles, the Spaniards ſeized upon that which purchaſes them, the mines of gold and ſilver. Theſe metals became not only a vehicle, but alſo an article of commerce. They immediately attracted all the reſt in this double capacity. All nations were in want of them to facilitate the exchange of their commodities, and obtain the conveniencies they ſtood in need of. The effuſion of the luxury and the money of the ſouth of Europe, altered the face and direction of commerce, at the ſame time that it extended its bounds.

BUT the two nations that had ſubdued the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, neglected the arts and agriculture. Imagining that gold was to give them every thing, without thinking that it is labour alone which brings gold; they learned rather late, and at their own expence, that the induſtry which they loſt, was more valuable than the riches they acquired; and it was from the Dutch that they learned this hard leſſon.

WITH all the gold in the world, the Spaniards either remained or became poor; the Dutch preſently acquired riches, without either lands or mines. Holland is a nation at the ſervice of all the reſt, but who ſells her ſervices at a high price. As ſoon as ſhe had taken refuge in the midſt of the ſea, with induſtry and freedom, which are her tutelary gods, ſhe perceived that ſhe had not a ſufficient quantity of land to ſupport the ſixth part of her inhabitants. She then choſe the whole world for her domain, and reſolved to enjoy it by her navigation and commerce. She made all lands contribute to her ſubſiſtence; and all nations ſupply her with the conveniences of life. Between the north and the ſouth of Europe, ſhe took the

BOOK XIX.

place of Flanders, from which ſhe had divided, in order to be concentrated ſolely in herſelf. Bruges and Antwerp had attracted Italy and Germany into their ports; Holland in her turn became the ſtaple of all commercial powers, rich or poor. Not ſatisfied with calling together all other nations, ſhe viſited them herſelf, in order to buy up from one what another wanted; to convey to the north, the merchandiſe of the ſouth; to ſell to the Spaniard ſhips for cargoes, and to exchange upon the Baltic wine for wood. She imitated the ſtewards and farmers of large eſtates, who by the immenſe profits they make in them, are enabled ſooner or later to buy them up. It is at the charges of Spain and Portugal, as it were, that Holland ſucceeded in taking from thoſe powers part of their conqueſts in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and almoſt the whole of the profit of their colonies. She availed herſelf of the indolence of theſe proud conquerors; and by their activity and vigilance, got hold of the key of their treaſures, leaving them nothing but the cheſt, which ſhe took care to empty as faſt as they filled it. It is thus that a low kind of people ruined two nations of polite and noble manners; but at the moſt honeſt and the moſt lawful game that can be met with in the ſeveral combinations of chance.

EVERY circumſtance was favorable to the riſe and progreſs of the commerce of the republic. Its poſition on the borders of the ſea, at the mouths of ſeveral great rivers; its proximity to the moſt fertile or beſt cultivated lands of Europe: its natural connections with England and Germany, which defended it againſt France: the little extent and fertility of its own territory which obliged the inhabitants to become fiſhermen, ſailors, brokers, bankers, carriers, and commiſſaries; in a word, to endeavour to live by induſtry for want of domain. Moral

ral cauſes acceded to thoſe of the climate and the ſoil, in eſtabliſhing and advancing its proſperity. The liberty of its government, which opened an aſylum to all ſtrangers diſſatisfied with their own; the freedom of its religion, which permitted a public and quiet profeſſion of all other faiths; that is to ſay, the agreement of the call of nature with that of conſcience, of intereſts with duties; in a word that toleration, that univerſal religion of all equitable and enlightened minds, friends to heaven and earth, to God, as to their father, to men, as to their brethren. In ſhort, this commercial republic found out the ſecret of availing herſelf of all events, and of making even the calamities and vices of other nations concur in advancing its felicity. It turned to its own advantage the civil wars which fanaticiſm raiſed among people of a violent ſpirit, or which patriotiſm excited among a free people; the indolence and ignorance maintained by bigotry among two nations ſubject to the guidance of the imagination. BOOK XIX.

THIS ſpirit of induſtry in Holland, with which was intermixed a conſiderable ſhare of that political craft which ſows the ſeeds of jealouſy and diſcord among the nations, at length opened the eyes of other powers. The Engliſh were the firſt to perceive that traffic might be carried on without the interpoſition of the Dutch. England, where the attempts of deſpotiſm had given birth to liberty, becauſe they were antecedent to corruption and effeminacy, grew deſirous of purchaſing riches by labour which is the antidote to them. The Engliſh firſt conſidered commerce as the proper ſcience and ſupport of an enlightened, powerful and even a virtuous people. They conſidered it rather as an improvement of induſtry than an acquiſition of enjoyments; rather as an encouragement and a ſource of activity among the people, than a promoter of luxury and magnificence. Invited to trade by

BOOK XIX.

their ſituation, this became the ſpirit of their government, and the means of their ambition. All their ſchemes tended to this great object. In other monarchies, trade is carried on by the common people; in this happy conſtitution by the ſtate or the whole nation: certainly always with the thirſt of dominion which implies the deſire of enſlaving, but with means, at leaſt, that conſtitute the happineſs of the world before it is ſubdued. By war, the conqueror is ſcarce more happy than the conquered; becauſe the only concern between them is that of blood: but by commerce, the conquering people neceſſarily introduce induſtry into the country, which they would not have conquered if it had not been there already, or which they would not keep, if they had not brought it in along with them. Upon theſe principles England hath founded her commerce and her empire, and mutually and alternately extended one by the other.

THE French, ſituated under as favourable a ſky, and upon as happy a ſoil, have for a long time flattered themſelves that they had much to beſtow upon other nations, and ſcarce any thing to aſk from them. But Colbert was ſenſible that in the fermentation Europe was in at this time, there would be an evident gain for the culture and productions of a country that ſhould work upon thoſe of the whole world. He opened manufactures for all the arts. The woollens, the ſilks, the dyes, the embroideries, the gold and ſilver ſtuffs, were brought to ſo high a pitch of refinement in luxury and taſte in the hands of the French, that they were in great requeſt among thoſe nobles who were in poſſeſſion of the greateſt landed property. To increaſe the produce of the arts, it was neceſſary to get the firſt materials, and theſe could only be ſuppplied by direct commerce. The chances of navigation had given France ſome poſſeſſions in the new world,

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as they had to all the plunderers that had taken to the ſea. The ambition of ſome individuals had formed colonies there, which had been at firſt ſupported and even aggrandized by the trade of the Dutch and the Engliſh. A national navy would of courſe reſtore to the mother country this natural connection with its coloniſts. The government, therefore, eſtabliſhed its naval forces upon the ſtrength of its commercial navigation. The nation would then neceſſarily make a double profit upon the materials and the workmanſhip of the manufactures. The French puſhed this precarious and temporary branch with an activity and ſpirit of emulation which muſt have left their rivals far behind them for a long time; and they ſtill enjoy that ſuperiority over other nations, in all thoſe arts of luxury and ornament which procure riches to induſtry. BOOK XIX.

THE natural volatility of the national character and its turn to trifles, hath brought treaſures to the ſtate, by the lucky propagation of their faſhions. Like to that light and delicate ſex, which teaches and inſpires us with a taſte for dreſs, the French reign in all courts, at leaſt, by the toilet; and their art of pleaſing is one of the myſterious ſources of their fortune and power. Other nations have maſtered the world by thoſe ſimple and ruſtic manners, that conſtitute the warlike virtues; it was given them to reign over it by their vices. Their empire will laſt, till they are debaſed under the feet of their maſters by unprincipled and unbounded ſtrokes of authority, when they will become contemptible in their own eyes. Then, they will loſe, with their confidence in themſelves, that induſtry, which is one of the ſources of their opulence and of the ſprings of their activity. They will ſoon have neither manufactures, nor colonies, nor trade.

BOOK XIX.

THIS new principle of the moral world hath inſinuated itſelf by degrees, till it is become, as it were, neceſſary to the exiſtence of political bodies. The taſte of luxury and eaſe hath produced the love of labour, which makes at preſent the chief ſtrength of a ſtate. In reality, the ſedentary occupations of the mechanic arts render men more liable to be affected by the injuries of the ſeaſons, leſs fit to be expoſed to the open air which is the firſt nutritive principle of life. But ſtill, it is better that the human race ſhould be enervated under the roofs of the workſhops, than inured to hardſhips under tents; becauſe war deſtroys while commerce on the contrary creates. By this uſeful revolution in manners, the general maxims of politics have altered the face of Europe. A people immerſed in poverty can no longer become formidable to a rich nation. Strength is at preſent an attendant on riches, becauſe riches are no longer the fruits of conqueſt, but the product of aſſiduous labour, and of a life ſpent in unremitted employment. Gold and ſilver corrupt only thoſe indolent minds who indulge in the delights of luxury, upon that ſtage of intrigue and meanneſs, that is called greatneſs. But theſe metals employ the hands and arms of the people; they excite a ſpirit of agriculture in the fields; of navigation in the maritime cities; and in the center of the ſtate they lead to the manufacturing of arms, cloathing, furniture, and the conſtruction of buildings. A ſpirit of emulation exiſts between man and nature: they are perpetually improving each other. The people are formed and faſhioned by the arts they profeſs. If there are ſome occupations which ſoften and degrade the human race, there are others by which it is hardened and repaired. If it be true that art renders them unnatural, they do not, at leaſt, propagate in order to deſtroy themſelves, as among the barbarous

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nations in heroic times. It is certainly an eaſy and ſeducing matter, to deſcribe the Romans with the ſingle art of war, ſubduing all the other arts, all other nations indolent or commercial, civilized or ſavage; breaking or deſpiſing the veſſels of Corinth, more happy with their gods made of clay, than with the golden ſtatues of their worthleſs emperors. But it is a more pleaſing, and perhaps, a finer ſight, to view all Europe peopled with laborious nations, who are continually going round the globe, to cultivate and make it fit for mankind; to ſee them put in motion by the vivifying breath of induſtry, all the regenerating powers of nature; ſeek in the abyſs of the ocean, and in the bowels of rocks, for new ſupports, or new enjoyments; ſtir and raiſe up the earth with all the mechanic powers invented by genius; eſtabliſh between the two hemiſpheres the happy improvements in the art of navigation, a communication of flying bridges, as it were, that re-unite one continent with the other; purſue all the tracks of the ſun, overcome the annual barriers, and paſs from the tropics to the poles upon the wings of the wind; in a word, to ſee them open all the ſtreams of population and pleaſure, in order to pour them upon the face of the earth through a thouſand channels. It is then, perhaps, that the divinity contemplates his work with ſatisfaction, and does not repent himſelf of having made man.

SUCH is the image of commerce; let us now admire the genius of the trader. The ſame underſtanding that Newton had to calculate the motion of the ſtars, he exerts in tracing the motions of the commercial people that fertilize the earth. His problems are the more difficult to reſolve, as the circumſtances of them are not taken from the immutable laws of nature, as the ſyſtems of the geometrician are; but depend upon the caprices

of

BOOK XIX.

of men, and uncertainty of a thouſand events. That accurate ſpirit of combination that Cromwell and Richelieu muſt have had, the one to deſtroy, the other, to eſtabliſh deſpotic monarchy; the trader alſo poſſeſſes and carries it further: for he takes in both worlds at one view, and directs his operations upon an infinite variety of relative conſiderations, which it is ſeldom given to the ſtateſman, or even to the philoſopher, to comprehend and eſtimate. Nothing muſt eſcape him, he muſt foreſee the influence of the ſeaſons, upon the plenty, the ſcarcity, and the quality of proviſions; upon the departure or return of his ſhips; the influence of political affairs upon thoſe of commerce; the changes which war or peace muſt neceſſarily occaſion in the prices and run of merchandiſe, in the quantity and choice of proviſions, in the ſtate of the cities and ports of the whole world; he muſt know the conſequences that an alliance of the two northern nations may have under the torrid zone; the progreſs, either towards aggrandizement or decay, of the ſeveral trading companies; the counter ſtroke that the fall of any European power in India, may give to Africa and America; the ſtagnation that may be produced in certain countries, by the blocking up of ſome channels of induſtry; the reciprocal connection there is between moſt branches of trade, and the mutual aſſiſtances they lend, by the temporary injuries they ſeem to inflict upon each other; he muſt know the proper time to begin, and when to ſtop in all new undertakings: in a word, he muſt know the art of making all other nations tributary to his own, and to make his own fortune with that of his country, or rather to enrich himſelf by extending the general proſperity of mankind. Such are the objects that the profeſſion of the merchant embraces.

Above all, it is the trader's peculiar buſineſs to pry into the depths of the human heart, and to treat with his equals in appearance, as if they were honeſt, but, in reality, as if they were men of no probity. Commerce is a ſcience that requires at the ſame time the knowledge of men and things. The difficulty of the ſcience, it muſt be acknowledged, is leſs owing to the multiplicity of objects, than to the rapaciouſneſs of thoſe who profeſs it. If emulation increaſes a concurrence of efforts, jealouſy prevents the ſucceſs of them. If intereſt is the vice that deſtroys profeſſions in general, what muſt be its effects upon that profeſſion, which owes its exiſtence to that principle? Its own eagerneſs deſtroys it. The thirſt of gain ſpreads over a commerce a ſpirit of avarice that contracts every thing, even the means of amaſſing.

Are merchants to be blamed for that rivalſhip of governments which reſtrains general induſtry by reciprocal prohibitions; or is the cenſure to fall on the tyranny of authority, which, in order to acquire gain without the trouble of commerce, confines all the claſſes of induſtry by corporations? Certainly on the latter; for all theſe ſocieties ſtifle the very life of commerce, which is liberty. To compel the indigent man to pay for the privilege of working, is to condemn him at once to idleneſs by indigence, and to indigence by idleneſs; it is to diminiſh the ſum total of national labour; to impoveriſh the people by enriching the treaſury; and to annihilate them both.

The jealouſy of trade between ſtates is nothing more than a ſecret conſpiracy to ruin each other, without enriching one. Thoſe who govern the people, exert the ſame ſkill in defending themſelves from the induſtry of the nations, as in preſerving themſelves from the intrigues of the great. One ſingle mean and wicked man is able to introduce a hundred reſtraints into Europe. New

chains

BOOK XIX.

chains are forged as fast as destructive weapons. Prohibitions in commerce, and extortions in the finance, have given rise to smugglers and galley slaves, to customs and monopolies, to pirates and excisemen. Centinels and obstacles are placed in all parts of the sea and of the land. The traveller enjoys no quiet, the merchant no property; both the one and the other are exposed to all the snares of an insidious legislation, that mingles the offence with the prohibition, and the penalty with the offence. A man becomes culpable without knowing it, or without meaning to be so: he is arrested, plundered and taxed, though he is all the while innocent. The rights of the people are violated by their protectors; the rights of the citizen are invaded by the citizen: the courtier is perpetually tormenting the statesman; and the contractor vexes the merchant. Such is the state of commerce in time of peace. But what shall we say of commercial wars?

It is natural enough, that a people pent up in the icy regions of the north, should wrest iron from the earth that refuses them subsistence; and should go sword in hand to reap the harvest of another nation: hunger, which knows no laws, cannot violate any, and seems to plead an excuse for these hostilities. They must necessarily live by carnage, when they have no corn. But, when a nation enjoys the privilege of an extensive commerce, and can furnish to the support of several other states from the superfluity of their own riches; what motive can induce them to declare war against other industrious nations; to obstruct their navigation and their labours; in a word, to forbid them to live on pain of death? Why do they arrogate to themselves an exclusive branch of trade, a right of fishing and sailing, as if it were a matter of property, and as if the sea were to be

divided

divided into acres as well as the land? We can certainly find out the motives of ſuch wars; we know that the jealouſy of commerce is nothing more than a jealouſy of power. But have any people the right to obſtruct a work they cannot execute themſelves, and to condemn another nation to indolence, becauſe they chuſe to devote themſelves to it?

How unnatural and contradictory an expreſſion is a war of commerce! Commerce nouriſhes, but war deſtroys. Commerce may, poſſibly, give riſe to war, and keep it up; but war cuts off all the ſources of commerce. Whatever one nation may gain upon another in commerce, it is a ſource of induſtry and emulation for them both: in war, it turns out to be a mutual loſs; for plunder, fire and ſword neither improve lands, nor enrich mankind. The wars of commerce are ſo much the more fatal, as by the preſent influence of the ſea over the land, and of Europe over the three other parts of the world, the conflagration becomes general; and that the diſſentions of two maritime powers excite the ſpirit of diſcord among all their allies, and occaſion inactivity even among the neutral powers.

Coasts and ſeas tinged with blood and covered with carcaſes; the thunders of war reaching from pole to pole, between Africa, Aſia and America, as well throughout the ſea that ſeparates us from the new world, as throughout the vaſt extent of the Pacific ocean: ſuch is the ſpectacle exhibited in the two laſt wars in which all the powers of Europe have been alternately ſhaken, or have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſome great ſtroke. Nevertheleſs the earth was depopulated, and commerce did not repair the loſs; the lands were exhauſted by taxes, and the channels of navigation did not aſſiſt the progreſs of agriculture. The loans of the ſtate ruined the fortunes of the citizens

BOOK XIX.

citizens beforehand by uſurious profits, the forerunners of bankruptcy. Even thoſe powers that were victorious bent under the weight of their conqueſts, and ſeizing upon a greater extent of land than they could keep or cultivate, involved themſelves in the ruin of their enemies. The neutral powers who were deſirous of enriching themſelves in peace, in the midſt of this commotion received and put up with inſults more diſgraceful than the defeats of an open war.

How highly abſurd are thoſe commercial wars, equally injurious to all the nations concerned, without being advantageous to ſuch as are not engaged in them; thoſe wars where the ſailors become ſoldiers, and the merchant ſhips are turned into privateers; where the traffic between the mother countries and their colonies is interrupted, and the price of their reciprocal commodities is raiſed!

What a ſource of political abuſes are thoſe treaties of commerce which become the ſeeds of war! Thoſe excluſive privileges which one nation acquires of another, either for a traffic of luxury, or for the neceſſaries of life! A general liberty granted to induſtry and commerce is the only treaty which a maritime power ſhould enforce at home, or negotiate abroad. A nation that would take this ſtep, would be the benefactor of the human race. The more labour was encouraged upon land, and the greater number of ſhips there were at ſea, ſo much the more would ſuch a people enjoy the advantages aimed at by negociations and by war. For there will be no increaſe of riches in any country, if there be no induſtry among its neighbours, who can acquire nothing but by articles of exchange, or by the means of gold and ſilver. But without commerce and induſtry there can be no metals, nor manufactures of value; nor can either of theſe ſprings of riches exiſt without liberty. The indolence of

of one nation is prejudicial to all the reſt, either by increaſing their labour, or by depriving them of what it ought to produce. The effect of the preſent ſyſtem of commerce and induſtry is the total ſubverſion of order. BOOK XIX.

THE want of the fine fleeces of Spain is retrieved by the flocks of England, and the ſilk manufactures of Italy are improved even in Germany, the wines of Portugal might be improved, were it not for the excluſive privileges granted to a particular company. The high grounds of the north and ſouth would be ſufficient to ſupply Europe with wood and metals, and the vallies would of courſe produce a greater plenty of corn and fruits. Manufactures would be raiſed in barren countries, if theſe could be ſupplied with plenty of the neceſſaries of life by a free circulation. Whole provinces would not be left uncultivated in the heart of a country in order to fertilize ſome unwholſome moraſſes, where, while the people are ſupported by the productions of the land, the influence of the air and the water tends to their deſtruction. We ſhould not ſee all the rich produce of commerce confined to particular cities of a large kingdom, as the privileges and fortunes of the whole people are to particular families. Circulation would be quicker, and the conſumption be increaſed. Each province would cultivate its favourite production, and each family its own little field. And under every roof there would be one child to ſpare for the purpoſes of navigation, and the improvement of the arts. Europe, like China, would ſwarm with multitudes of induſtrious people.—Upon the whole, the freedom of trade would inſenſibly produce that univerſal peace which a brave but humane monarch once conſidered not as merely chimerical.

WHILE each man calculated his own advantage, the national ſyſtem of happineſs would be founded on the im-

BOOK XIX.

improvement of reaſon, which would prove a ſecurity of more effectual morals, than the viſionary ideas of ſuperſtition. Theſe preſently diſappear as ſoon as paſſions exert themſelves, whilſt reaſon gains ſtrength and advances to maturity along with them.

Commerce

COMMERCE, which ariſes naturally from agriculture, returns to it by its propenſity and by its circulation: thus, the rivers return to the ſea, which has produced them by the exhalation of its waters into vapours, and by the fall of thoſe vapours into the waters. The quantity of gold brought by the tranſportation and conſumption of the fruits of the earth, returns again at laſt into its boſom, and reproduces all the neceſſaries of life, and the materials of commerce. If the lands are not cultivated, all commerce is precarious, becauſe it is deprived of its principal fund, which is the productions of nature. Nations that are only maritime or commercial, enjoy, it is true, the fruits of commerce; but the tree belongs to thoſe people that are ſkilled in the cultivation of land. Agriculture is, therefore, the chief and real opulence of a ſtate. This is a circumſtance that had eſcaped the Romans in the intoxication of their conqueſts, which had given them all the earth without their cultivating it. It was unknown to the Barbarians, who, deſtroying by the ſword an empire that had been eſtabliſhed by it, abandoned to ſlaves the cultivation of the lands, of which they preſerved to themſelves the fruits and the property. This point was miſtaken alſo, even in the age ſubſequent to the diſcovery of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; whether it was that in Europe the people were too much engaged in wars of ambition or religion; or, that the conqueſts made by Portugal and Spain beyond the ſeas, having brought us treaſures without labour, we contented ourſelves with enjoy-

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ing them by luxury and the arts, without thinking of perpetuating theſe riches. BOOK XIX.

But the time came, when plunder ceaſed for want of an object. When the conquered lands in the new world had been fought for and divided, it became neceſſary to cultivate them, and to feed the coloniſts of theſe ſettlements. As theſe were Europeans, they cultivated for Europe productions which it did not furniſh, and aſked in return thoſe proviſions which cuſtom had made natural to them. In proportion as the colonies were peopled, and that the number of ſailors and manufacturers increaſed with the increaſe of productions, the lands muſt neceſſarily furniſh a ſurplus of ſubſiſtence for the increaſe of population; an augmentation of indigenous commodities, for foreign materials of exchange and conſumption. The hard labours of navigation, and the corruption of proviſions in the tranſport, cauſing a greater loſs of materials and produce, the inhabitants were obliged to ſolicit and ſtir up the earth to yield her fruits in greater abundance. The conſumption of American commodities, far from leſſening that of European productions, ſerved only to increaſe and extend it upon all the ſeas, in all the ports, and in all the cities where commerce and induſtry prevailed. Thus the people who were the moſt commercial, neceſſarily became at the ſame time the beſt cultivators.

England firſt conceived the idea of this new ſyſtem. She eſtabliſhed and encouraged it by honours and premiums propoſed to the planters. A medal was ſtruck and preſented to the duke of Bedford, with the following inſcription; *For having planted Oak.* Triptolemus and Ceres were adored in antiquity only from ſimilar motives; and yet temples and altars are ſtill erected to lazy monks. The God of nature will not ſuffer that mankind ſhould

BOOK XIX.

perish. He hath implanted in all generous and sublime souls, in the hearts of all people and of enlightened monarchs, this idea, that labour is the first duty of man, and that the most important of all labours is that of cultivating the land. The elogium of agriculture is in its own reward, in the satisfying of our wants. *If I had a subject who could produce two blades of corn instead of one*, said a monarch, *I should prefer him to all the men of political genius in the state.* What pity is it that such a king and such an opinion are merely the fiction of Swift's brain. But a nation that can produce such writers, must necessarily verify this beautiful sentence; and accordingly we find that England doubled the produce of its cultivation.

Led by the example of the English, all other nations that knew the value of industry, brought it back to its true origin and primary destination. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French, who under the administration of three cardinals, had scarce been allowed to turn their thoughts to public affairs, ventured at length to write on matters of importance, and of evident utility. The undertaking of an universal dictionary of arts and sciences, placed every great object in view, and set all men of understanding at work. The spirit of laws was published, and the boundaries of genius were extended. Natural history, was written by a French Pliny, who surpassed Greece and Rome in the art of knowing and describing nature; this history, bold and great as its subject, warmed the imaginations of its readers, and attached them powerfully to contemplations, which a nation cannot relinquish, without returning into a state of barbarism. In less than twenty years, the eyes of the French nation were open to their real interests. They communicated their knowledge to government, and agriculture,

culture, if it was not encouraged by rewards, was, at least, patronized by ſome miniſters. BOOK XIX.

GERMANY hath felt the happy influence of that enlightened ſpirit which fertilizes the earth and multiplies its inhabitants. All the northern climates have exerted themſelves to make the moſt of their lands. Even Spain has been active; and though deficient in natives, has at leaſt engaged foreign huſbandmen to labour in her uncultivated provinces.

IT is a ſingular and yet a natural circumſtance, that men ſhould have returned to the firſt of the arts only after having gone through all the reſt. It is the common progreſſion of the human mind, not to regain the right path, till after it hath exhauſted itſelf in purſuing falſe tracks. It is always going forwards; and as it relinquiſhed agriculture, to follow the road of commerce and luxury, it went rapidly round the circle, and returned at laſt into the nurſery of all the arts, where it fixed its reſidence, from the ſame motives of intereſt that had made it quit it before. Thus the eager and curious man, who baniſhes himſelf from his country in his youth, tired with running about the world, returns at laſt to live and die under his native roof.

EVERY thing, indeed, depends upon, and ariſes from the cultivation of land. It forms the internal ſtrength of ſtates; and draws riches into them from without. Every power which comes from any other ſource except the land, is artificial and precarious, either in natural or moral philoſophy. Induſtry and commerce which do not act immediately upon the agriculture of a country, are in the power of foreign nations, who may either diſpute theſe advantages through emulation, or deprive the country of them through envy. This may be done either by eſtabliſhing the ſame branch of induſtry among them-

BOOK XIX.

ſelves, or by ſuppreſſing the exportation of their own unwrought materials, or the importation of thoſe materials in manufacture. But a ſtate well manured, and well cultivated, produces men by the fruits of the earth, and riches by thoſe men. This is not the teeth which the dragon ſows to bring forth ſoldiers to deſtroy each other, it is the milk of Juno, which peoples the heavens with an innumerable multitude of ſtars.

THE government, therefore, owes its ſupport to the countries rather than to the cities. The firſt are mothers and nurſes always fruitful; the others are nothing more than daughters often ungrateful and barren. The cities can ſcarce ſubſiſt but from the ſuperfluous part of the population and produce of the countries. Even the fortified places and ports of trade, which ſeem to be connected with the whole world by their ſhips, which diffuſe more riches than they poſſeſs, do not, however, attract all the treaſures they diſpenſe, but by the produce of the countries that ſurround them. The tree, muſt therefore, be watered at its root. The cities will only be flouriſhing in proportion as the fields are fruitful.

BUT this fertility depends leſs upon the ſoil than upon the inhabitants. Spain and even Italy, though ſituated under a climate the moſt favourable to agriculture, produce leſs than France or England; becauſe the efforts of nature are impeded in a thouſand ways by the form of their government. In all parts where the people are attached to the country by property, by the ſecurity of their funds and revenues, the lands will flouriſh and proſper. In all parts where the privileges are not confined to the cities, and the labours to the countries, every proprietor will be fond of the inheritance of his anceſtors, will increaſe and embelliſh it by aſſiduous cultivation, and his children will be multiplied in proportion

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to his means, and his means be increaſed in proportion to his children. BOOK XIX

It is, therefore, the intereſt of government to favour the huſbandmen, in preference to all the indolent claſſes of ſociety. Nobility is but an odious diſtinction, when not founded upon ſervices of real and unqueſtionable utility to the ſtate; as for inſtance, the defence of the nation againſt the encroachments of conqueſt, and againſt the enterprizes of deſpotiſm. The nobles furniſh only a precarious and oftentimes fatal aſſiſtance; when after having led an effeminate and licentious life in the cities, they go forth to lend a feeble defence for their country upon her fleets and in her armies, and afterwards return to court, to ſolicit as a reward for their baſeneſs, places and honours, which are revolting and burthenſome to the nation. The clergy are a ſet of men uſeleſs, at leaſt, to the earth, even when they are employed in prayer. But when, with ſcandalous morals, they preach a doctrine which is rendered doubly incredible and impracticable from their ignorance and from their example; when, after having diſgraced, diſcredited and overturned religion, by a variety of abuſes, of ſophiſms, of injuſtices and uſurpations, they wiſh to diffuſe it by perſecution; then this privileged, idle and turbulent ſet of men, become the moſt dreadful enemies of the ſtate and of the nation. The only good and reſpectable part of them that remains, is that ſet of the clergy who are moſt deſpiſed and moſt burthened with duty, and who being ſituated among the lower claſs of people in the country, labour, edify, adviſe, comfort and relieve a multitude of unhappy perſons.

The huſbandmen deſerve to be preferred by government, even to the manufacturers, and the profeſſors of either the mechanical or liberal arts. To encourage and to protect the arts of luxury, leaving the fields neglected,

BOOK XIX.

that ſource of induſtry which has firſt erected and ſupports them, is to forget the order of the ſeveral relations between nature and ſociety. To favour the arts and to neglect agriculture, is to remove the baſis of a pyramid, in order to finiſh the top. The mechanical arts engage a ſufficient number of hands by the attraction of the riches they procure, by the comforts they ſupply the workmen with, by the eaſe, pleaſures and conveniencies that ariſe in cities where the ſeveral branches of induſtry meet. It is the ruſtic life that ſtands in need of encouragement for the hard labours it is expoſed to, and of indemnification for the loſſes and vexations it ſuſtains. The huſbandman is placed at a diſtance from every object that can either excite his ambition, or gratify his curioſity. He lives in a ſtate of ſeparation from the diſtinctions and pleaſures of ſociety. He cannot give his children a polite education, without ſending them far from him, nor place them in a road of fortune that may diſtinguiſh and advance them. He does not enjoy the ſacrifices he makes for them, while they are educated at a diſtance from him. In a word, he undergoes all the troubles that nature brings, without benefiting by its pleaſures, unleſs ſupported by the paternal care of government. Every thing is burdenſome and humiliating to him, even the taxes, the very name of which ſometimes makes his condition more wretched than any other.

Men are naturally attached to the liberal arts by their particular genius, which makes this attachment grow up into a kind of paſſion; and likewiſe by the reputation they reflect on thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves in the purſuit of them. It is not poſſible to admire the works of genius, without eſteeming and careſſing the perſons endowed with that valuable gift of nature. But the man devoted to a ruſtic life, unleſs he enjoys in quietneſs what he

he poſſeſſes, and what he gathers; if he is incapable of improving the benefits of his condition, becauſe the ſweets of it are taken from him; if the military ſervice, if vaſſalage and taxes are to rob him of his ſon, his cattle, and his grain, nothing remains for him, but to curſe both the ſky and the land that torment him, and to abandon his fields and his country.

A wiſe government cannot refuſe to pay its principal attention to agriculture, without deſtruction to itſelf: the moſt ready and effectual means of aſſiſting it, is to favour the multiplication of its produce of every kind, by the moſt free and unbounded circulation.

An indefinite liberty in the exchange of commodities, renders a people at the ſame time commercial and attentive to agriculture; it extends the views of the farmer towards trade, and thoſe of the merchant towards cultivation. It connects them by ties that are regularly kept up. All men belong equally to the villages and to the cities, and there is a reciprocal connection and communication maintained between the provinces. The circulation of commodities brings on really the golden age, in which ſtreams of milk and honey are ſaid to have flowed through the plains. All the lands are cultivated; the meadows are favourable to tillage by the cattle they feed; the growth of corn encourages that of vines, by furniſhing a conſtant and certain ſubſiſtence to him who neither ſows nor reaps, but plants, prunes and gathers his fruit.

Let us now conſider the effects of a contrary ſyſtem, and attempt to regulate agriculture, and the circulation of its produce by particular laws; and let us obſerve what calamities will enſue. The prying interference of authority, will not only wiſh to know every thing that is done, but even impede the doing of it. Men will be led like their cattle, or tranſported like their corn; they will

BOOK XIX.

be collected and diſperſed at the nod of a tyrant to be ſlaughtered in the carnage of war, or to periſh to no purpoſe upon fleets, or in different colonies. The life of a ſtate will become its deſtruction. Neither the lands, nor the people, will be enabled to proſper, and the ſtates will tend quickly to their diſſolution, that is, to that ſeparation which is always preceded by the maſſacre of the people, as well as their rulers. What then will become of manufactures?

Manufactures.

AGRICULTURE gives birth to the arts, when it has been carried to that degree of abundance and perfection which gives men leiſure to ſit down, invent, and procure themſelves the conveniencies of life; and when it has produced a population ſufficiently numerous to be employed on other labours, beſides what are due to the land. Then a people muſt neceſſarily become either ſoldiers, navigators, or manufacturers. As ſoon as war has blunted the rudeneſs and ferocity of a robuſt nation; as ſoon as it has nearly circumſcribed the extent of an empire, thoſe men who have been exerciſed in arms, muſt then apply themſelves to the management of the oar, the ropes, the ſciſſars or the ſhuttle; in a word, of all the tools of commerce and induſtry; for the land, which kept ſo many men without any of their own labour, does not require them to return to the plough. As the arts ever have a country of their own, their peculiar place of refuge, where they are carried on and flouriſh in tranquillity, it is eaſier to repair thither in ſearch of them, than to wait at home till they ſhall have grown up, and advanced with the tardy progreſſion of ages, and the favour of chance which preſides over the diſcoveries of genius. Thus every nation of Europe that has had any induſtry, has borrowed the moſt conſiderable ſhare of the arts from Aſia.

There

There invention ſeems to have been as original as mankind.

THE beauty and fertility of thoſe climes hath ever engendered a moſt numerous race of people, as well as abundance of fruits of all kinds. There, laws and arts, the offspring of genius and tranquillity, have ariſen from the ſettled ſtate of government; and luxury, the parent of every enjoyment that attends induſtry, has ſprung out of the richneſs of the ſoil. India, China, Perſia and Egypt were in poſſeſſion not only of all the ſtores of nature, but alſo of the moſt brilliant inventions of art. War has frequently obliterated every monument of genius in theſe parts, but they revive again out of their own ruins, as well as mankind. Not unlike thoſe laborious ſwarms we ſee periſh in their hives by the wintry blaſt of the north, and which reproduce themſelves in ſpring; retaining ſtill the ſame love of toil and order; there are certain Aſiatic nations which have ſtill preſerved the arts of luxury with their materials, notwithſtanding the incurſions and conqueſts of the Tartars.

IT was in a country ſucceſſively ſubdued by the Scythians, Romans, and Saracens, that the nations of Europe, which not even Chriſtianity nor time could civilize, recovered the arts and ſciences without ſearching for them. The Cruſades exhauſted their fanatic zeal, and threw off their barbariſm at Conſtantinople. It was by journeying to viſit the tomb of their Saviour, who was born in a manger, and died on a croſs, that they acquired a taſte for magnificence, pomp, and wealth. By them the Aſiatic grandeur was introduced into the courts of Europe. Italy, the ſeat from whence religion ſpread her empire over other countries, was the firſt to adopt a ſpecies of induſtry that was of benefit to her temples, the ceremonies of her worſhip, and thoſe proceſſions which ſerve

to

BOOK XIX.

to keep up devotion by means of the ſenſes, when once ſhe has ſeized on the heart. Chriſtian Rome, after having borrowed her rites from the Eaſtern nations, was ſtill to draw from thence their ſupport, the ſplendour of wealth.

VENICE, whoſe gallies were ranged under the banner of liberty, could not fail of being induſtrious. The people of Italy raiſed up manufactures, and were a long time in poſſeſſion of all the arts, even when the conqueſt of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies had cauſed the treaſures of the whole world to overflow in Europe. Flanders drew her handycrafts from Italy; England hers from Flanders; and France borrowed the general induſtry of all countries. Of the Engliſh ſhe purchaſed her ſtocking looms, which work ten times as faſt as the needle. The number of hands unoccupied from the introduction of the loom, were employed in making of lace, which was taken from the Flemings. Paris ſurpaſſed Perſia in her carpets, and Flanders in her tapeſtry, in the elegance of her patterns, and the beauty of her dyes; and excelled Venice in the tranſparency and ſize of her mirrors. France learned to diſpenſe with part of her Italian ſilks, and with Engliſh broad cloths. Germany has kept, with their iron and copper mines, the ſuperiority in melting, tempering, and working up thoſe metals. But the art of giving the poliſh and faſhion to every article that can be concerned in the ornaments of luxury, and the conveniencies of life, ſeems to belong peculiarly to the French; whether it be that they, in the vanity of pleaſing others, find the means of ſucceeding by all the outward appearances of brilliant ſhew; or that in reality grace and eaſe are the conſtant attendants of a people naturally lively and gay, and who by inſtinct are in poſſeſſion of taſte.

EVERY

EVERY people given to agriculture ought to have arts to employ their materials, and ſhould multiply their productions to maintain their artiſts. Were they acquainted only with the labours of the field, their induſtry muſt be confined in its cauſe, its means, and its effects. Having but few wants and deſires, they would exert themſelves but little, employ fewer hands, and work leſs time. Their cultivation would neither be extended nor improved. Should ſuch a people be poſſeſſed of more arts than materials, they muſt fall to the mercy of ſtrangers, who would ruin their manufactures, by ſinking the price of their articles of luxury, and raiſing the value of their proviſions. But when a people, engaged in agriculture, join induſtry to property, the culture of their produce to the art of working it up, they have then within themſelves every thing neceſſary for their exiſtence and preſervation, every ſeed of greatneſs and proſperity. Such a people is endued with a power of accompliſhing every thing they wiſh, and ſtimulated with the deſire of acquiring every thing that is poſſible.

NOTHING is more favourable to liberty than the arts; it is their element, and they are, in their nature, citizens of the world. An able artiſt may work in every country of the world, becauſe he works for the world in general. Talents fly every where from ſlavery, while ſoldiers find ſlavery in all parts. When, through the want of toleration in the eccleſiaſtics, the proteſtants were driven out of France, they opened to themſelves a refuge in every civilized ſtate in Europe: but when the jeſuits have been baniſhed from their own country, they have found no aſylum any where; not even in Italy, the nurſe of monachiſm and intolerance.

THE arts multiply the means of acquiring fortune, and contribute by a more ample diſtribution of wealth to a more

BOOK XIX.

more equitable repartition of property. Thus an end is put to that exceſſive inequality among men, the unfortunate conſequence of oppreſſion, tyranny and ſtupefaction of a whole people.

MANUFACTURES contribute to the advancement of knowledge and of the ſciences. The torch of induſtry ſerves to enlighten at once a vaſt horizon. No art is ſingle: the greater part of them have their forms, modes, inſtruments and elements in common. The mechanics themſelves have contributed prodigiouſly to extend the ſtudy of mathematics. Every branch of the genealogical tree of ſcience has unfolded itſelf with the progreſs of the arts and handycrafts. Mines, mills, cloth-works, dying, have enlarged the ſphere of philoſophy and natural hiſtory. Luxury has given riſe to the art of enjoyment, which is entirely dependent on the liberal arts. As ſoon as architecture admits of ornaments without, it brings with it decorations for the inſide of our houſes: while ſculpture and painting are at the ſame time at work for the embelliſhment and adorning of the edifice. The art of deſign is employed in our dreſs and furniture. The pencil, ever fertile in novelty, is varying without end its ſketches and ſhades on our ſtuffs and our porcelain. The powers of genius are exerted in compoſing at leiſure, maſter-pieces of poetry and eloquence, or thoſe happy ſyſtems of policy and philoſophy, which reſtore to the people their natural rights; and to ſovereigns all their glory, which conſiſts in reigning over the heart and the mind, over the opinion and will of their ſubjects, by the means of reaſon and equity.

THEN it is that the arts produce that ſpirit of ſociety which conſtitutes the happineſs of civil life, which gives relaxation to the more ſerious occupations, by entertainments, ſhews, concerts, converſations, in ſhort, by every

ſpecies

ſpecies of agreeable amuſement. Eaſe gives to every virtuous enjoyment an air of liberty, which connects and mingles the ſeveral ranks of men. Buſineſs adds a value or a charm to the pleaſures that are its recompence. Every citizen, aſſured of his ſubſiſtence, by the produce of his induſtry, has leiſure for all the agreeable or toiſome occupations of life, as well as that repoſe of mind which leads on to the ſweets of ſleep. Not but avarice makes many victims, but ſtill leſs than war or religious zeal; the continual ſcourges of an idle people.

NEXT to the cultivation of the land, that of the arts then is moſt fitted for man. At preſent both the one and the other make up the ſtrength of civilized governments. If the arts have tended to weaken mankind, then the weaker people muſt have prevailed over the ſtrong; for the balance of Europe is in the hands of the nations, who are in poſſeſſion of the arts.

SINCE Europe has been overſpread with manufactures, the human heart, as well as the mind, have changed their bent and diſpoſition. The deſire of wealth has ariſen in all parts from the love of pleaſure. We no longer ſee any people who conſent to be poor, becauſe poverty is no longer the bulwark of liberty. We are forced, indeed, to confeſs, that the arts in this world ſupply the place of virtues. Induſtry may produce vices; but, however, it baniſhes thoſe of idleneſs, which are a thouſand times more dangerous. As information gradually diſpels every ſpecies of fanaticiſm, men being employed for the occaſions of luxury, do not deſtroy one another through ſuperſtition. At leaſt, human blood is not ſpilt without ſome appearance of intereſt; and war, probably, cuts off only thoſe fierce and violent beings that are produced in every ſtate; enemies to and diſturbers of all order, without any other talent, any other propenſity than that of doing miſchief;

The

BOOK XIX.

The arts reſtrain that ſpirit of diſſention, by ſubjecting man to ſtated and daily employments: They beſtow on every rank of life the means and the hopes of enjoyment, and give even the meaneſt a kind of eſtimation and importance by the utility they confer. A workman at forty has been of more real value to the ſtate than a whole family of vaſſals who were employed in tillage under the old feudal ſyſtem. An opulent manufacture brings more benefit into a village than twenty caſtles of antient barons, whether hunters or warriors, ever conferred on their province.

If it be a fact, that in the preſent ſtate of things thoſe who are the moſt induſtrious, ought to be the moſt happy and the moſt powerful people, either becauſe, in wars that are unavoidable, they furniſh of themſelves, or purchaſe by their wealth, more ſoldiers, more ammunition, more forces, both for ſea or land ſervice; or that, having a greater intereſt in maintaining peace, they eſcape broils, or terminate them by negociation; or that, in caſe of a defeat, they more readily repair their loſſes by dint of labour; or that they are happy in the enjoyments of a more mild, and more enlightened government, notwithſtanding the means of corruption and ſlavery that tyranny is ſupplied with by the effeminacy which luxury produces; in a word, if the arts really civilize nations, a ſtate ought to neglect no opportunity of making manufactures flouriſh.

This circumſtance depends on the climate, which, as Polybius ſays, forms the figure, complexion and manners of nations. The moſt temperate climate muſt neceſſarily be the moſt favourable to that kind of induſtry, which is of a ſedentary caſt. If the climate is too hot, it is inconſiſtent with the eſtabliſhment of manufactures, which require the concourſe of ſeveral perſons together to carry on

on the ſame work; and excludes all thoſe arts which re- BOOK XIX.
quire furnaces, or ſtrong lights. If the climate prove too cold, it is not proper for thoſe arts which can only be carried on in the open air. At two great or too ſmall a diſtance from the equator, man is unfit for ſeveral labours, which ſeem peculiarly adapted to a mild temperature. In vain did Peter the Great go to ſearch among the beſt regulated ſtates for ſuch arts as could humanize his country: during a period of fifty years, not one of all thoſe principles has been able to take root among the frozen regions of Ruſſia. All artiſts are ſtrangers in that land, and if they think of taking up their reſidence there, their talents and their works ſoon die along with them. When Lewis the XIVth, in his old age, as if that was the time of life for proſcription, perſecuted the proteſtants, it was to no purpoſe that they introduced their arts and trades among the people who received them; they were no longer able to work in the ſame manner as they had done in France. Though they were equally active and laborious, their art pined or decayed, for want of being warmed or lighted up by the ſame rays of the ſun.

To the favourable diſpoſition of climate, for the encouragement of manufactures, ſhould be united the advantage of the political ſituation of the ſtate. When it is of ſuch extent as to have nothing to fear or covet in point of ſecurity: when it is in the neighbourhood of the ſea for the landing of materials, and the vent of what is worked up: when it is ſituated between powers who have iron mines to employ its induſtry, and others that have mines of gold to reward it: when it has nations on each ſide with ports and roads open on every quarter; ſuch a ſtate will have all the external advantages neceſſary to excite a people to open a variety of manufactures.

But

BOOK XIX.

But one advantage ſtill more eſſential is fertility of ſoil. If cultivation requires too many hands, workmen cannot be ſupplied, or the workſhop will depopulate the fields; whence it muſt happen that the dearneſs of proviſions, while it raiſes the price of workmanſhip, will alſo diminiſh the number of handycrafts.

Where fertility of ſoil is wanting, manufactures require, at leaſt, frugality. A nation that ſhould expend much on its mere ſubſiſtence would abſorb the whole profits of its induſtry. If indulgence either exceeds the pace or degree of labour, it is loſt at its very ſource; it withers and dries up the trunk that is to convey ſap to it. If the workman will feed and clothe himſelf like the manufacturer who employs him, the manufacture is ſoon ruined. The degree of frugality that republican nations adhere to from motives of virtue, the manufacturer ought to obſerve from views of parſimony. This may be the reaſon, perhaps, that the arts, even thoſe of luxury, are more adapted to republics than monarchies; for under monarchical inſtitutions, poverty is not always the ſharpeſt ſpur with the people to induſtry. Labour, proceeding from hunger is narrow and confined like the appetite it ſprings from; but the work that ariſes from ambition ſpreads and increaſes as naturally as the vice itſelf.

National character has much influence over the progreſs of the arts relative to luxury and ornament. A particular people is fitted for invention by that levity which naturally inclines them to novelty. The ſame nation is fitted for the arts, by their vanity, which inclines them to the ornament of dreſs. Another nation leſs lively, has leſs taſte for trivial matters, and is not fond of changing faſhions. Being of a more ſerious turn they are more inclined to the debauch of the table and to intoxication that frees them at once from all their enemies.

enemies. Of theſe nations, the one muſt ſucceed better than its rival in the arts of decoration, and muſt have the preference over it among all the other nations which are fond of the ſame arts.

THE advantages which manufactures derive from nature, are further ſeconded by the form of government. While induſtry is favourable to national liberty, that in return ſhould aſſiſt induſtry. Excluſive privileges are enemies to commerce and the arts, which are to be encouraged only by competition. Even the rights of apprenticeſhip, and the value ſet on corporations, are a kind of monopoly. The ſtate is prejudiced by that ſort of privilege, which favours incorporated trades; that is, petty communities are protected at the expence of the greater body. By taking from the lower claſs of the people the liberty of chooſing the profeſſion that ſuits them, every profeſſion is filled with bad workmen. Such as require greater talents are exerciſed by thoſe who have the moſt money; the meaner, and leſs expenſive, fall often to the ſhare of men born to excel in a diſtinguiſhed art. Employed in a way for which they have no taſte, both the one and the other neglect their work, and prejudice the art: the firſt, becauſe they are beneath it; the latter, becauſe they are convinced of their being above it. But if we remove the impediment of corporate bodies, we ſhall produce a rivalſhip in the workmen, and conſequently, abundance and perfection in the work.

IT may be a queſtion, whether it be beneficial to collect manufactures in large towns, or to diſperſe them over the country. This point is determined by facts. The arts of primary neceſſity have remained where they were firſt produced, in thoſe places which have furniſhed the materials. Forges are in the neighbourhood of the mine, and linen near the flax. But the complicated

BOOK XIX.

arts of industry and luxury cannot be inhabitants of the country. If we disperse over a large extent of territory all the arts, which are combined in watch and clock-making, we shall ruin Geneva with all the works that support it. The perfection of stuffs requires their being made in a town, where fine dyes may at once be united with beautiful patterns, and the art of working up woollens and silks with that of making gold and silver lace. If there are wanting eighteen hands to make a pin, through how many handycrafts, how many artificers must a laced coat, or an embroidered waistcoat pass? How shall we be able to find amidst an interior central province the immense apparatus of arts that contribute to the furnishing of a palace, or the festal entertainments of a court. We must confine then, or rather retain in the country, such innocent and simple arts as flourish unconnected with others; and work up in the provinces the common cloths for cloathing the populace. We must establish between the capital and the other towns a reciprocal dependence of wants and conveniences, of materials and works; but still nothing must be done by authority or compulsion, workmen must be left to act for themselves. Let there be freedom of traffic, and freedom of industry; and manufactures will prosper, population will increase.

Population.

Has the world been more peopled at one time than another? This is not to be known from history; because half the habited globe has had no historians, and half history is full of falsities. Who has ever taken or could at any time take an account of the inhabitants of the earth? She was, it is said, more fruitful in her younger days. But where is that golden age? Is it when a dry sand arises from the bed of the sea, and comes to purge itself in the rays of the sun; is it then that the slime produces ve-

vegetables, animals and human creatures? But the whole ſurface of the earth muſt alternately have been covered by the ocean. The earth has then always had, like the individuals of every ſpecies, an infant ſtate, a ſtate of weakneſs and ſterility before ſhe arrived at the age of fecundity. All countries have been for a long time buried under water, laying uncultivated beneath ſands and moraſſes, wild and overgrown with buſhes and foreſts, till the human ſpecies, being thrown by accident on theſe deſerts and ſolitudes, has cleared, altered and peopled the land. But as all the cauſes of population are ſubordinate to thoſe natural laws which govern the univerſe, as well as to the influences of ſoil and atmoſphere, which are ſubject to a number of calamities, it muſt ever have varied with thoſe periods of nature that have been either adverſe or favourable to the increaſe of mankind. However, as the lot of every ſpecies ſeems in a manner to depend on its faculties, it is in the hiſtory of the unfolding of human induſtry that we muſt ſearch in general for the hiſtory of the population of the earth. On this ground of calculation, it is, at leaſt doubtful, whether the world was formerly better inhabited and more peopled than at preſent.

Let us leave Aſia under the veil of that antiquity which reports it to us ever covered with innumerable nations, and ſwarms of people ſo prodigious that (notwithſtanding the fertility of a ſoil which ſtands in need but of one ray of the ſun to enable it to produce all ſorts of fruits) men did but juſt make their appearance, ſucceeding one another in their generations, like torrents, and were ſwallowed up either by famine, peſtilence or war. Let us dwell ſome time on the ſubject of Europe, which ſeems to have taken the place of Aſia, by conferring upon art all the power of nature.

BOOK XIX.

In order to decide whether our continent was, of old, more inhabited than in our times, it is ſufficient to examine, whether it was then more cultivated. Do any traces remain among us of plantations that have been abandoned? What coaſt is there where men could land, what country that was acceſſible that is at preſent without inhabitants? If diſcoveries are made of the ruins of old towns, it is beneath the foundations of cities as large as the former. But ſhould even Italy and Spain have fallen off from their ancient population, to what a degree are not the other ſtates of Europe increaſed in the number of their inhabitants? What were thoſe multitudes of people which Cæſar reckoned up in Gaul, but a ſort of ſavage nations more formidable in name than in number? All thoſe Britains, who were ſubdued in their iſland by two Roman legions, were they much more numerous than the Corſicans at preſent? Germany, indeed, as it ſhould ſeem, muſt have been extremely well peopled, as ſhe alone brought into ſubjection, in the compaſs of two or three centuries, the fineſt moiety of Europe. But we muſt obſerve, theſe were the people of a territory ten times as large who poſſeſſed themſelves of a country ſtocked by three or four nations; and that it was not owing to the number of her conquerors, but to the revolt of her ſubjects, that the Roman empire was deſtroyed and reduced to ſubjection. In this aſtoniſhing revolution, we may readily admit that the victorious nations did not amount to one twentieth part of thoſe that were conquered; becauſe the former made their attacks with half their numbers of real people, and the latter employed no more than the hundredth part of their effective inhabitants in their defence. But a people, who fight entirely for themſelves, are more powerful than ten armies raiſed by kings and princes.

Besides, those long and bloody wars, of which antient history is full, are destructive of that excessive population they seem to prove. If on the one hand the Romans took pains to repair at home the losses their victories made in their forces, the very spirit of conquest which possessed them, consumed, at least, other nations; for no sooner had they made the conquest of any people than they incorporated them into their own armies, and undermined their strength in a double proportion, as much by recruits as by tribute. It is well known with what rage wars were carried on by the ancients: that often in a siege, the whole town was laid in ashes; men, women and children perished in the flames rather than fall under the dominion of the conqueror; that in assaults, every inhabitant was put to the sword; that in regular engagements, every one was better pleased to die, sword in hand, than to be led in triumph, and be condemned to perpetual slavery. Were not these barbarous customs of war injurious to population? If, as we must allow, some victims were saved by slavery, this was but of little service to the increase of mankind, as it established in a state an extreme inequality of condition among beings by nature equal. If the division of societies into small colonies or states was adapted to multiply families by the partition of lands; it likewise often occasioned reciprocal quarrels among the nations; and as these small states touched one another, as it were, in an infinite number of points, in order to defend them, every inhabitant was obliged to take up arms. It is owing to their size that large bodies resist motion; small bodies are in a perpetual agitation, which shatters them to pieces.

If war was destructive of population in antient times, it was not always peace that could restore it. Formerly, all nations were ruled by despotic or aristocratic power,

BOOK XIX.

and theſe two forms of government are by no means propitious to the increaſe of the human ſpecies. The free cities of Greece were guided by laws ſo complicated, that there were continual diſſentions among the citizens. Even the populace, who had no right of ſuffrage, did not fail to give the law in the public meetings, where a man of talents with his eloquence was enabled to ſet ſo many perſons in commotion. Beſides, in theſe ſtates population tended to concentrate itſelf within the city, in conjunction with ambition, power, riches, and in ſhort all the effects and ſprings of liberty. Not but that the lands under the democratical ſtates muſt have been well cultivated and well peopled. But the democracies were few; and as they all had ambitious views, and had no other means of increaſing their grandeur beſides war, except only Athens, whoſe commerce, indeed, was alſo owing to the force of arms, the earth could not long flouriſh, and produce population. In a word, Greece and Italy were at leaſt the only countries better peopled than they are at preſent.

Except in Greece, which repelled, reſtrained, and ſubdued Aſia; except in Carthage, which appeared on the borders of Africa, and ſoon ſank again into nothing; except in Rome, which brought into ſubjection and deſtroyed the known world; where do we find a ſtate of population that bears any compariſon with what a traveller meets with at this day on every ſea coaſt, along all the great rivers, and on the roads to capital cities. What vaſt foreſts are turned to tillage; what harveſts are waving in the place of reeds that covered marſhy grounds?—What numbers of civilized people, who ſubſiſt on dried fiſh, and ſalted proviſions?

In the police, in the morals, and in the politics of the moderns we may diſcern many cauſes of propagation that did

did not exiſt among the antients: but at the ſame time we obſerve likewiſe ſome inconveniences which may hinder or diminiſh among us that ſort of progreſs, which, in our ſpecies, ſhould be moſt conducive to its being raiſed to the height of perfection. For men will never be more numerous, unleſs they are more happy.

POPULATION depends in a great meaſure on the diſtribution of landed property. Families multiply in the ſame manner as their poſſeſſions, and when they are too large, the exorbitancy of them always ſtops the increaſe. A man of large property, working only for himſelf, ſets apart one half of his lands for his income, and the other for his pleaſures. All he appropriates to hunting is a double loſs in point of cultivation, for he breeds cattle on the land that ſhould belong to men, inſtead of ſubſiſting men on the land which belongs to animals. Wood is neceſſary in a country for repairs and fewel: but is there any occaſion for ſo many avenues in a park; or for parterres, and kitchen gardens of ſuch a ſize as belong to a large houſe? In this caſe, does luxury, which in its magnificence affords ſuſtenance to the arts, prove as favourable to the increaſe of mankind, as it might by employing the land to better purpoſes? Too many large eſtates, therefore, and too few ſmall ones; this is the firſt impediment to population.

THE next obſtacle, is the unalienable domains of the clergy: when ſo much property remains for ever in the ſame hands, how ſhall population flouriſh, when it owes its birth ſingly to the improvement of lands by the increaſe of ſhares among real proprietors. What intereſt has the incumbent to add a value to an eſtate he is not to tranſmit to any ſucceſſor, to ſow or plant for a poſterity not derived from himſelf. Far from diminiſhing his income to improve his lands, will he not rather riſque the

BOOK XIX.

impairing of his living, in order to increaſe the rents which he is to enjoy only for life?

THE entails of eſtates in noble families are not leſs prejudicial to the propagation of the ſpecies. They leſſen at once both the nobility and the other ranks of people. Juſt as primogeniture ſacrifices the younger children to the intereſt of the elder branch; entails deſtroy ſeveral families for the ſake of a ſingle one. Almoſt all entailed eſtates fail in their culture by the negligence of a proprietor who is not attached to a poſſeſſion he is not to diſpoſe of, which has been ceded to him only with regret, and which is already given to his ſucceſſors, who are not to be his heirs, becauſe they are not named by him. The right of primogeniture, and entail, is then a law, one may ſay, made on purpoſe to defeat the increaſe of population in any ſtate.

FROM the two firſt obſtacles to population produced by the defect of legiſlation, there ariſes a third, which is the poverty of the people. Wherever the farmers have not the property of the ground-rent their life is miſerable, and their condition precarious. Not being certain of their ſubſiſtence, which depends on their health, having but ſmall reliance on their ſtrength, which they are obliged to ſell, and curſing the day of their birth, they are afraid of breeding a race of wretched beings. It is a miſtake to think that plenty of children are produced in the country, when there die as many, if not more, than are born every year. The toil of the father, and the milk of the mother are loſt to them, and to their children; for they will never come to the prime of life, to that ſtate of maturity which by its produce is to recompence all the pains of bringing them up. With a ſmall portion of land, the mother might bring up her child, and cultivate her own little garden, while the father at the expence of his labour

bour abroad, might improve the conveniencies of the family. Not having any property theſe three beings pine from the ſmallneſs of the gains of the ſingle perſon, or the child periſhes from the toils of the mother.

WHAT evils ariſe from a faulty or defective legiſlation? Calamities are abundant, they are multiplied only to deſtroy the whole, and grow one out of another, till the ſyſtem is totally annihilated. The indigence of the country produces an increaſe of troops, a burden ruinous in its nature, deſtructive of men in time of war, and of land in time of peace. It is certain that the military are the ruin of lands they do not aſſiſt in cultivating; becauſe every ſoldier deprives the public of a labourer, and burthens it with an idle or uſeleſs conſumer. He defends the country in time of peace, merely from a pernicious ſyſtem, which under the pretext of defence makes all nations aggreſſors. If all governments would, as they eaſily might, leave to aſſiſt in cultivation the hands they rob it of by an army, population in a ſhort time would conſiderably increaſe the number of labourers and artiſts throughout Europe. All the powers of human induſtry would be exerted in improving the advantages of nature, and in getting the better of her difficulties; every thing would concur in promoting exiſtence, not in ſpreading deſtruction.

THE deſerts of Ruſſia would be cleared, and the plains of Poland not laid waſte. The vaſt dominions of the Turks, would be cultivated, and the bleſſing of their prophet would ſpread itſelf over an immenſe ſyſtem of population. Egypt, Syria, and Paleſtine would again become what they were in the times of the Phenicians, in the days of their ſhepherd kings, and of the Jews who enjoyed happineſs and peace under their judges. The parched mountains of Sierra Morena would be rendered fertile,

BOOK XIX.

fertile, the heaths of Aquitania would be cleared of inſects and be covered with people.

But general good is merely the deluſive dream of benevolent perſons. This brings to my remembrance the virtuous prelate of Cambray, and the good Abbé of St. Pierre. Their works are compoſed for the peopling of wilderneſſes, not with hermits who fly from the vices and misfortunes of the world, but with happy families, who would proclaim the glory of God upon earth, as the ſtars declare it in the firmament. It is in their writings that life and humanity are to be found, in their writings, which are truly inſpired; for humanity is the gift of heaven. Kings will inſure the attachment of their people, in proportion as they themſelves are attached to ſuch men.

Need it be mentioned that one of the means to favour population is to ſuppreſs the celibacy of the regular and ſecular clergy. Monaſtic inſtitutions have a reference to two æras remarkable in the hiſtory of the world. About the year 700 of Rome, a new religion ſprang up in the eaſt with the Meſſiah, and with Paganiſm the Roman empire quickly decayed. Two or three hundred years after the death of the Meſſiah, Egypt and Paleſtine were filled with Monks. About the year 700 of the chriſtian æra, a new religion appeared in the eaſt, with Mahomet, and chriſtianity turned into Europe, in order to ſettle itſelf there. Three or four hundred years afterwards, there aroſe ſwarms of religious orders. At the time of the birth of Chriſt, the books of David and thoſe of the Sybil announced the downfal of the world, a deluge or an univerſal conflagration, the judgment of mankind: and all the world, oppreſſed by the dominion of the Romans, wiſhed and believed in a general diſſolution. A thouſand years after the chriſtian æra, the books of David and thoſe of the Sybil ſtill announced the laſt judgment; and ſeveral

veral penitents, as ferocious and wild in their extravagant piety as in their ſins, ſold all their poſſeſſions to go to conquer and die upon the tomb of their redeemer. The nations groaning under the tyranny of the feudal government wiſhed for and ſtill believed in the end of the world.

WHILE one part of the chriſtian world, ſtruck with terror, went to periſh in the Cruſades, another part were burying themſelves in cloyſters. This was the origin of the monaſtic life in Europe. Opinion created monks, opinion will deſtroy them. Their property will remain behind them in ſociety for the production of families: and all thoſe hours, that are loſt in praying without devotion, will be dedicated to their primitive intention, which is labour. The clergy are to remember that in the ſacred ſcriptures, God ſays to man in innocence, increaſe and multiply: to man in ſin, labour and toil. If the duties of the prieſthood ſeem to forbid the prieſt having the charge of a family, and of an eſtate, the duties of ſociety more loudly proſcribe celibacy. If the monks of old times cleared the deſerts they inhabited; they now contribute to depopulate the towns where they ſwarm: if the clergy has ſubſiſted on the alms of the people, they in their turn reduce the people to beggary. Among the idle claſſes of ſociety, the moſt prejudicial is that, which, on its own principles, muſt lead men to idleneſs; which waſtes at the altar as well the work of the bees, as the ſalary of the workmen; which burns in day-time the candles of the night, and makes men loſe in the church that time they owe to the care of their houſehold, which engages men to aſk of heaven the ſubſiſtence that the ground only can give, or produce in return for their toil.

THERE

BOOK XIX.

THERE is ſtill another cauſe of the depopulation of ſome ſtates; which is, that want of toleration which perſecutes and proſcribes every religion but that of the prince on the throne. It is a ſpecies of oppreſſion and tyranny peculiar to modern politics to extend its influence even over mens thoughts and conſciences: it is a cruel kind of piety, which, for the ſake of exterior forms of worſhip, derogates, in ſome meaſure, from the Deity himſelf, by deſtroying multitudes of his worſhippers: it is an impiety ſtill more barbarous, that for matters ſo indifferent as religious ceremonies muſt appear, deſeats a thing ſo eſſential as the life of man, and the population of ſtates ought to be. For neither the number nor the allegiance of ſubjects is increaſed by exacting oaths contrary to conſcience, by forcing into ſecret perjury thoſe who are engaged in the marriage ties, or in the different profeſſions of a citizen. Unity in religion is proper only when it is naturally eſtabliſhed by conviction. As ſoon as that ceaſes, one way to ſet mens minds at reſt, is to leave them at liberty. When conviction is equal, complete and entire, with regard to every citizen, it can never give any diſturbance to the peace of families.

NEXT to the celibacy among the eccleſiaſtics and that among the military, the one from profeſſion, the other from cuſtom, there is a third, of convenience, introduced by luxury. I mean that of life annuitants. Here we may admire the chain of cauſes. At the ſame time that commerce favours population through induſtry by land and ſea, by means of all the objects and operations of navigation, and by the ſeveral arts of cultivation and manufactures, it leſſens that ſame population by means of all the vices which luxury introduces. When riches have gained the aſcendent over the minds of men, then opinions and manners alter by the intermixture of ranks.

The

The arts and the talents of pleaſing corrupt ſociety, while they poliſh it. When the intercourſe between the ſexes becomes frequent, they mutually ſeduce one another, and the weaker leads away the more ſtrong in the frivolous turn for dreſs and amuſement. The women become childiſh and the men effeminate. Entertainments are the ſole ſubject of their talk, and the object of their occupation. The manly and robuſt exerciſes, which diſciplined the youth and trained them for the important and hazardous profeſſions, give place to the love of public ſhews, where every paſſion that can render a nation effeminate is caught, ſo long as the patriotic ſpirit is wanting. Indolence gains among the ranks that need not work, and among thoſe that ſhould, leſs buſineſs is done. The improvement of arts multiplies faſhions, theſe increaſe our expences, articles of luxury become wants, ſuperfluity takes the place of the needful, and people dreſs better, but do not live ſo well; and purchaſe clothes at the expence of the neceſſaries of life. The lower claſs of men grow acquainted with debauchery before they are with love, and marrying later, have fewer or weaker children: the tradeſman looks out for a fortune not a wife, and beforehand deprives himſelf of both by his libertiniſm. The rich, married or not, go on continually ſeducing women of every condition, or debauching poor girls. The difficulty of ſupporting the charges of marriage, and the readineſs of finding the joys of it without bearing any of its diſagreeable inconveniencies, tends to increaſe the number of unmarried people in every claſs. The man, who gives up being the father of a family, ſpends his patrimony, and in concert with the ſtate which doubles his yearly income, by borrowing of him at a ruinous intereſt, he melts ſeveral generations into one: he extinguiſhes poſterity as much in the married women, by whom

BOOK XIX.

whom he is rewarded, as in the girls whom he hires. Every kind of proſtitution is drawn on at once. Honour and duty is forfeited in every rank; the ruin of the women is but the forerunner of that of the men.

THE nation that is inclined to gallantry, or rather to libertiniſm, is not long before it is undone abroad, as well as ſubdued at home. There is no longer any nobility, no longer any body of men to defend their own or the people's rights; for every where diviſion and ſelf-intereſt prevails. No one wiſhes to be ruined alone. The love of riches being the only allurement, the honeſt man is apprehenſive of loſing his fortune, and the man of no honour is intent upon making his: the one retires, the other ſets himſelf up to ſale, and the ſtate is ruined. Such are infallibly the ſteps commerce takes in its progreſs under a monarchy. What its effects are in a republic we know from antient hiſtory. But ſtill it is neceſſary at this time to lead men to commerce, becauſe the preſent ſituation of Europe is favourable to it, and commerce itſelf is favourable to population.

BUT it will be aſked whether a great degree of population is of uſe to promote the happineſs of mankind. This is an idle queſtion. In fact, the point is not to multiply men, in order to make them happy; but it is ſufficient to make them happy, that they ſhould multiply. All the means which concur in the proſperity of any ſtate, tend of themſelves to the propagation of its people. A legiſlator who ſhould deſire people only to have ſoldiers, and ſubjects only for the purpoſe of ſubduing his neighbours, would be a monſter, and an enemy to the human race, ſince he would create merely with a view to deſtroy. A legiſlator, on the contrary, who like Solon, ſhould form a republic, whoſe multitudes might go and people the deſert coaſts of the ſea; or who like Penn, ſhould make

make laws for the cultivation of his colony, and forbid war, ſuch a legiſlator would undoubtedly be conſidered as a God on earth. Even though his name ſhould not be immortalized, he would live in happineſs, and die contented, eſpecially if he could be certain of leaving behind him laws of ſuch wiſdom as to free his people for ever from the vexation of taxes.

Taxes.

A tax may be defined, a ſacrifice of one part of one's property for the preſervation of the other: from hence it follows, that there ſhould not be any tax either among people in a ſtate of ſlavery, or among ſavages: for the former have no longer any property, and the latter have not yet acquired any.

But when a nation enjoys any large and valuable property, when its fortune is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, and is conſiderable enough to require expences of government, when it has poſſeſſions, trade, and wealth capable of tempting the cupidity of its neighbours who may be poor or ambitious; then, in order to guard its frontiers, or its provinces, to protect its navigation, and keep up its police, there is a neceſſity for forces and for a revenue. It is but juſt and indiſpenſable, that the perſons who are employed in any manner for the public good, ſhould be maintained by all the other orders of the confederate ſociety.

There have been countries and times, in which a portion of the territory has been aſſigned for the public expences of the body of the ſtate. The government not being enabled of itſelf to turn ſuch extenſive poſſeſſions to advantage, was forced to entruſt this charge to adminiſtrators, who either neglected the revenues, or appropriated them to their own uſe. This practice brought on ſtill greater inconveniencies. Either the royal domains were too conſiderable in time of peace, or inſufficient for the

BOOK XIX. the calls of war. In the first instance, the liberty of the state was oppressed by the ruler of it, and in the latter, by strangers. It has, therefore, been found necessary to have recourse to the contributions of the citizens.

THESE funds were in early times not considerable. The tribute consisted merely in a reimbursement given by the public to those persons whom public concerns diverted from the employments and cares essential to their subsistence. Their reward was found in that delicious enjoyment we experience in the inward feelings of our own virtue, and upon a view of the respect paid it by other men. These moral riches were the greatest treasures of rising societies; they were a kind of coin which it as much concerned the order of government, as that of morality, not to deface.

HONOUR held the place of taxes no less in the flourishing periods of Greece, than in the infant state of societies. The patriot who served his country, did not think he had any right to destroy it. The impost, laid on by Aristides on all Greece, for the support of the war against Persia, was so moderate, that those who were to contribute, of themselves, called it *the happy fortune of Greece!* What times were these, and what a country, in which taxes made the happiness of the people!

THE Romans proceeded to dominion almost without any assistance from the public stock. The love of wealth would have diverted them from the conquest of the world. The public service was carried on without any interested views, even after their manners had been corrupted.

UNDER the feudal government, there were no taxes, for on what could they have been levied? The man and the land were both the property of the Lord. It was both a real and a personal servitude.

WHEN

When light began to dawn on Europe, the nations turned their thoughts towards their own ſecurity. They voluntarily furniſhed contributions to repreſs foreign and domeſtic enemies. But thoſe tributes were moderate, becauſe princes were not yet abſolute enough to divert them to the purpoſes of their own capricious humours, or to the advantage of their ambition.

The new world was diſcovered, and the paſſion for conqueſt ſeized upon every nation. That ſpirit of aggrandizement was not to be reconciled with the ſlowneſs of popular aſſemblies; and ſovereigns ſucceeded without much trouble in appropriating to themſelves more rights than they had ever enjoyed. The impoſition of taxes was the moſt important of their uſurpations, and it is that whoſe conſequences have been the moſt pernicious.

Princes have ventured even to ſtamp the marks of ſervitude upon the people's brows, by levying a poll-tax. Independent of the humiliation it brings with it, can any thing be more arbitrary than ſuch a tax?

Is the tax to be levied upon voluntary information? But this would require between the monarch and his ſubjects a moral conſcience which ſhould unite them by a mutual love of the general good; or, at leaſt, a public conſcience to inſpire the one with confidence in the other, by a ſincere and reciprocal communication of their intelligence, and of their ſentiments. Even then, how is this public conſcience to be ſettled, which is to ſerve as a torch, a guide and a rein to determine and regulate the operations of government?

Is the ſanctuary of families, or the cloſet of the citizen to be invaded, in order to gain by ſurpriſe, and bring to light what he does not chuſe to reveal, what it is often of importance to him not to diſcover. What an inquiſition! What offenſive violence! Though we ſhould even

BOOK XIX.

arrive at the knowledge of the reſources of every individual, do they not vary from one year to another with the uncertain and precarious productions of induſtry? Are they not leſſened by the increaſe of children, by the decay of ſtrength through ſickneſs, by age, and by laborious occupations. The very faculties of the human ſpecies, that are of uſe and promote labour, do they not change with thoſe viciſſitudes brought by time on all things that depend on nature and fortune? The perſonal tax is a vexation then to the individual without common benefit. A poll-tax is a ſort of ſlavery, oppreſſive to the man, without being profitable to the ſtate.

After having ſuffered this tax, which is a proof of deſpotiſm, or which leads to it ſooner or later, impoſts were then laid upon articles of conſumption. Sovereigns have affected to conſider this new tribute as in ſome meaſure voluntary, becauſe it riſes in proportion to the expences of the ſubject, which he is at liberty to increaſe or diminiſh according to his abilities, or his propenſities, which are for the moſt part factitious.

But if taxation affect the commodities which are of immediate neceſſity, it is the height of cruelty. Previous to all the laws of ſociety, man had a right to ſubſiſt. And is he to loſe that right by the eſtabliſhment of laws? To ſell the productions of the earth to the people at a dear rate, is to rob them of them: it is to attack the very principle of their exiſtence, to take from them, by a tax, the natural means of preſerving it. By extorting the ſubſiſtence of the needy, the ſtate takes from him his ſtrength with his food. It reduces the poor man to a ſtate of beggary; and the working man to that of idleneſs; it makes the unfortunate man, a rogue; that is, it brings the hungry man to the gallows through exceſs of miſery.

If the impoſts affect commodities leſs neceſſary; how many hands loſt to tillage and the arts are employed not in guarding the bulwarks of the empire, but in crowding the kingdom with an infinite number of unimportant barriers; in embarraſſing the gates of towns; infeſting the highways and roads of commerce; and ſearching into cellars, granaries, and ſtorehouſes! What a ſtate of war between prince and people, between ſubject and ſubject! How many priſons, gallies and gibbets for a ſwarm of wretches who have been urged on to fraud, to ſmuggling, and even to piracy by the iniquity of the revenue laws!

The greedineſs of ſovereigns has extended from the articles of conſumption to thoſe of traffic carried on from one ſtate to another. Inſatiable tyrants! Will ye never underſtand that if ye lay duties on what ye offer to the ſtranger, he will buy it at a cheaper rate, he will give only the price demanded by other ſtates: if even your own ſubjects were the ſole proprietors of that produce you have taxed, they ſtill would never give the law; for in that caſe the demand would be for a leſs quantity, and the overplus would oblige them to lower the price, in order to find a vent for it.

The duty on merchandiſe your government receives from its neighbours, does not ſtand on a more reaſonable footing. The price of the goods being regulated by the competition of other countries, the duties will be paid by your ſubjects alone. Poſſibly, the raiſing the price of foreign produce may diminiſh the conſumption of it. But if a leſs quantity of merchandiſe is ſold to you, a leſs quantity will be purchaſed of you. Trade yields but in proportion to what it receives. It is in fact nothing more than an exchange of value for value. It is not poſſible then for you to oppoſe the current of theſe exchanges,

BOOK XIX.

without lowering the value of your own productions, by checking the ſale of them.

WHETHER you lay duties on your own or on foreign merchandiſe, the induſtry of your ſubjects will neceſſarily ſuffer by it. The means of payment will be fewer, and they will have leſs raw materials to work up. The greater the diminution there is on the reproduction annually, the more the ſum total of their labour will alſo be decreaſed. Then all the laws you can make againſt beggars will be ineffectual, for man muſt live on what is given him, if he cannot live by what he earns.

BUT what then is the mode of taxation the moſt proper to conciliate the public intereſt with the rights of individuals? It is the land-tax. An impoſt is with reſpect to the perſon upon whom it is charged, an annual expence. It can only, therefore, be aſſeſſed on an annual revenue; for nothing but an annual revenue can diſcharge an annual expence. Now there never can be any annual revenue, except that of the land. It is land only which replaces yearly what has been advanced upon it, with an overplus left to our diſpoſal. It is ſome time ſince we have begun to be ſenſible of this important truth. Some men of ſound underſtanding will one day reduce it to a demonſtration: and the firſt government that makes this the foundation of their ſyſtem, will of courſe be raiſed to a degree of proſperity unknown to all nations and all ages.

PERHAPS, there is no ſtate in Europe at preſent whoſe ſituation admits of ſo great a change. The taxes are every where ſo heavy, the expences ſo multiplied, the wants ſo preſſing; the public ſtock is ſo much indebted every where, that a ſudden revolution in the raiſing of the public revenues, would infallibly alter the confidence and diſturb the peace of the ſubject. But an enlightened and

provident

provident policy, will tend by ſlow and gradual ſteps towards ſo ſalutary an end. With courage and prudence ſhe will remove every obſtacle that prejudice, ignorance, and private intereſt might have to oppoſe to a ſyſtem of adminiſtration, the advantages of which appear to us beyond all calculation.

In order that nothing may leſſen the benefits of this happy innovation, it will be neceſſary that all lands without diſtinction ſhould be ſubjected to taxation. The public weal is a treaſure in common, wherein every individual ſhould depoſit his tribute, his ſervice, and his abilities. Names and titles will never change the nature of men and their poſſeſſions. It would be the utmoſt meanneſs and folly to avail ourſelves of diſtinctions received from our anceſtors, in order to withdraw ourſelves from the burthens of ſociety. Every preeminence not turned to the general advantage, would be miſchievous, it cannot be equitable but ſo far as it forms a ſettled engagement to devote in a more eſpecial manner our lives and fortunes to the ſervice of our country.

If in our days the tax were firſt laid on the land, would it not neceſſarily be ſuppoſed that the contribution ſhould be proportioned to the extent and fertility of the eſtates? Would any one dare to alledge his employments, his ſervices, his dignities, in order to ſcreen himſelf from the tributes exacted by the public weal? What connection have taxes with ranks, titles, and conditions? They are concerned only with revenue: and revenue belongs to the ſtate, ſo ſoon as it becomes neceſſary for the public defence.

It is not, however, ſufficient that the impoſt be portioned out with equity; it is further neceſſary that it be proportioned to the wants of the government, which are not always the ſame. War hath ever required in all

BOOK XIX.

places and in all ages more conſiderable expences than peace. The antients made a proviſion for them by their oeconomy in times of tranquillity. Since the advantages of circulation and the principles of induſtry have been better developed, the method of laying up currency in this way, has been proſcribed. The reſource of laying on extraordinary taxes has been preferred. Every ſtate that ſhould prohibit them would find itſelf obliged, in order to retard its fall, to have recourſe to the methods in uſe at Conſtantinople. The Sultan, who can do every thing but augment his revenues, is conſtrained to give up the empire to the extortions of his delegates, that he may afterwards deprive them of what they have plundered from his ſubjects.

THAT taxes may not be exorbitant, they ſhould be ordered, regulated and adminiſtered by the repreſentatives of the people. The impoſt has ever depended on the property. He that is not maſter of the produce is not maſter of the field. Thus it is that among all nations tributes have never been at firſt laid on the proprietors but by themſelves; whether the lands were parcelled out among the conquerors; whether the clergy ſhared them with the nobles, or whether they paſſed by means of commerce and induſtry into the hands of the generality of the citizens. Every where, thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the lands had reſerved the natural, unalienable and ſacred right, of not being taxed without their own conſent. If we remove this principle, there is no longer any monarchy, or any nation; there is nothing remaining but a deſpotic maſter and a herd of ſlaves.

YE people, whoſe kings order every thing they pleaſe, read over again your own hiſtory. Ye will ſee that your anceſtors aſſembled themſelves and deliberated whenever a ſubſidy was in agitation. If the cuſtom of doing this is ob-

obſolete, the right is not loſt; it is recorded in heaven, which has given the earth to mankind to poſſeſs it: it is written on the field you have taken the pains to incloſe, in order to inſure to yourſelves the enjoyment of it: it is written in your hearts, where the divinity has impreſſed the love of liberty. That head raiſed upwards towards heaven is not made in the image of the Creator to bow before man. No man is greater than another, but by the choice and conſent of all. Ye courtiers, your greatneſs is in your lands, and not at the feet of your maſter. Be leſs ambitious, and ye will be richer. Go and do juſtice to your vaſſals, and ye will improve your fortunes by increaſing the maſs of common happineſs. What is it ye gain by raiſing the edifice of deſpotiſm beneath the ruins of every degree of liberty, virtue, ſentiment and property? Be perſuaded it willl cruſh you all. Around that formidable Coloſſus ye are no more than figures in bronze, repreſenting the nations chained at the feet of a ſtatue.

If the right of laying on taxes be in the prince alone, though it may not be for his intereſt to overcharge and vex his people, yet they will be overcharged and vexed. The caprices, profuſions and enterprizes of the ſovereign will no longer know any bounds when they meet with no obſtacles. A falſe and cruel ſyſtem of politics will ſoon perſuade him that rich ſubjects will always become inſolent, that they muſt be ruined, in order to be kept in ſubjection, and that poverty is the firmeſt rampart of the throne. He will go ſo far as to believe that every thing is at his diſpoſal, that nothing belongs to his ſlaves, and that he does them a favour in every thing he leaves them.

The government will ſeize upon every avenue and outlet of induſtry, to fleece it, as well in its entry as its outgoing, and to exhauſt it in its courſe. Commerce

BOOK XIX.

will obtain circulation, but by the interpoſal and for the benefit of the treaſury. Cultivation will be neglected by mercenaries who can have no hopes of acquiring property. The nobility will ſerve and fight only for pay. The magiſtrate will give judgment only for the ſake of his fees and his ſalary. Merchants will hoard up their fortunes in order to tranſport them out of a land where there is no regard for the country, nor any ſecurity left. The nation, being no longer of any conſequence, will conceive an indifference for its kings; will ſee its enemies only in thoſe who are its maſters; will be induced to hope ſome time or other for an alleviation of its ſervitude in a change of its yoke; will expect its deliverance from a revolution, and its tranquillity from an entire overthrow of the ſtate. After this there is nothing more to be ſaid: let us now ſpeak of a reſource, which ſovereigns turn to the ruin of their people: That is public credit.

Public credit.

In general, what is called public credit, is nothing more than delay allowed for payment. Credit then ſuppoſes a double confidence; confidence in the perſon who is in want of it, and confidence in his abilities to pay. The firſt is the moſt neceſſary. It is too common for a man in debt, who is of a bad diſpoſition to break his engagements, though he is able to fulfil them; and to diſſipate his fortune by irregular conduct and extravagance. But the honeſt and prudent man, who has at the ſame time a proper underſtanding, may by a variety of operations well-managed, acquire or replace the means that have failed him for a time.

The chief end of commerce is conſumption; but before commodities have reached the places where they are to be conſumed, a conſiderable time often paſſes, and great expences muſt be incurred. If the merchant is com-

compelled to make his purchaſes with ready money, commerce will neceſſarily languiſh. Thoſe who are ſellers, and thoſe who muſt buy, will be equally ſufferers by it. From theſe arrangements ariſes credit among the individuals of one ſociety, or even of ſeveral ſocieties. It differs from public credit, which is the credit of a whole nation conſidered as forming one ſingle body.

BETWEEN public and private credit there is this difference, that gain is the end of the one, and expence of the other. From hence it follows that credit is gain with reſpect to the merchant; becauſe it furniſhes him with the means of acquiring riches; and that with regard to governments it is one cauſe of impoveriſhing them, ſince it only ſupplies them with the power of ruining themſelves. A ſtate that borrows, alienates a portion of its revenue for a capital which it ſpends. It is then poorer after having thus borrowed, than it was before that deſtructive manœuvre. Notwithſtanding the ſcarcity of gold and ſilver, the governments of antient times were not acquainted with the uſe of public credit, even in the periods of the moſt fatal and critical events. They formed during peace a ſtock that was made uſe of as a reſource in times of diſtreſs. Then money returning into circulation awakened induſtry and alleviated, in ſome meaſure, the inevitable calamities of war. Since the diſcovery of the new world has made bullion more common, thoſe who have had the lead in governments have generally engaged in enterprizes above the abilities of the people they governed: and have not ſcrupled to burthen poſterity with debts they have taken the liberty to contract. That ſyſtem of oppreſſion has been continued; it muſt bind our diſtant ſucceſſors, and be a load upon all nations and all ages.

THE

BOOK XIX.

THE cuſtom of public credit, though ruinous to every ſtate, is not equally ſo to all. A nation that has ſeveral valuable productions of its own; whoſe entire revenue is free; which has always fulfilled its engagements; which has not the ambition of conqueſt; and which governs itſelf: ſuch a nation will find money at an eaſier rate, than a government whoſe ſoil is not fertile; which is overloaded with debts; which engages in undertakings beyond its ſtrength; which has deceived its creditors, and groans beneath an arbitrary power. The lender, who of courſe impoſes the law, will always proportion the terms to the riſques he muſt run. Thus, a people, whoſe finances are in diſorder, will ſoon fall into the utmoſt diſtreſs by public credit: but the government which is better adminiſtered, will alſo find its proſperity limited by it.

BUT, ſay ſome political arithmeticians, is it not advantageous to invite the money of other nations into the boſom of your country: and do not public ſtocks produce that important effect? Yes, undoubtedly we attract the money of ſtrangers by theſe means; but it is in no other way than if we were to ſell them one or more of the provinces of the empire. Perhaps, it would be a more rational practice to deliver up to them the ſoil, than to cultivate it ſolely for their uſe.

BUT if the ſtate borrowed only of its own ſubjects, the national revenue would not be given up to foreigners. It certainly would not: but the ſtate would impoveriſh ſome of its members, in order to enrich one individual. Muſt not taxes be increaſed in proportion to the intereſt that are to be paid, and the capital that is to be replaced? The proprietors of lands, the cultivators, every citizen, will they not all find themſelves more burthened, than if all the money borrowed by the ſtate had been demanded from

from them at once? Their ſituation is the ſame, as if they themſelves had borrowed it, inſtead of making ſuch ſavings in their ordinary expences as might enable them to ſupply an accidental charge. BOOK XIX.

But the paper-currency which proceeds from the loans made to government, increaſes the maſs of riches in circulation, gives a great compaſs to all buſineſs, and facilitates every operation. Infatuated men! Can you not perceive all the errors of your politics? Let your ſyſtem be ſtretched to the utmoſt; let the ſtate borrow all it can; load it with intereſt to be paid: and by theſe means reduce it to the neceſſity of forcing every tax; ye will ſoon find that with all your riches in circulation, ye will have no more wealth ſpringing up afreſh from the purpoſes of conſumption and your trade. Money, and the paper which repreſents it, do not circulate of themſelves, nor without certain powers that put them in motion. All theſe different ſigns come into uſe only in proportion as ſales and purchaſes are made. Cover all Europe, if you chooſe it, with gold; if there is no merchandiſe for traffic, that gold will lie inactive. If you do but multiply the commercial effects, ye need pay no attention to theſe repreſentations of wealth; mutual confidence and neceſſity will ſoon be enabled to eſtabliſh them without your care. Above all things you muſt be careful not to multiply them by ſuch means as muſt of courſe diminiſh the maſs of your growing produce.

But the cuſtom of public credit enables one power to give the law to others. Will it never be diſcovered that this reſource is in common to all nations? If it be a kind of high road for us to march up to the adverſary, will it not equally ſerve them to come to us? Will not the credit of the two nations be in proportion to their reſpective wealth? and will they not be ruined without having any other

BOOK XIX.

other advantages over one another than thoſe they were in poſſeſſion of, independent of every loan? When I ſee monarchs and empires at war, and falling upon one another with violence in the midſt of all their debts, their public funds, and their revenues already deeply mortgaged, it ſeems to me, ſays a philoſophical writer, as if I ſaw men fighting with clubs in a potter's ſhop ſurrounded with porcelain.

It would, perhaps, be raſhneſs to affirm, that in no circumſtance whatſoever the public ſervice will require an alienation of part of the public revenues. The ſcenes that diſturb the world are ſo various; governments are expoſed to ſuch ſtrange revolutions; the field of events is ſo extenſive; politics ſtrike ſuch ſurpriſing ſtrokes, that it is not within the reach of human wiſdom to foreſee and calculate every circumſtance. But in this point, it is the common practice of governments, which we are diſcuſſing, and not a particular ſituation which in all probability may never preſent itſelf.

Every ſtate which will not be diverted from the ruinous courſe of loans by ſuch conſiderations as we have juſt been offering, will effect its own ruin. The facility of acquiring great ſums of money at once, will put a government upon every kind of unreaſonable, raſh and expenſive undertaking; will make it mortgage the future for the preſent, and game with the preſent ſtock to acquire future ſupplies. One loan will bring on another, and to accelerate the laſt, the intereſt will be more and more raiſed.

This irregularity will cauſe the fruits of induſtry to paſs into ſome idle hands. The eaſe of enjoyment without doing any thing, will draw into the capital every perſon of fortune, and all vicious and intriguing men; together with a train of ſervants, borrowed from the plough;

plough; of young girls deprived of their innocence and of their rights of marriage; of subjects of both sexes devoted to luxury: all of them the instruments, the victims, the objects, or the sport of indolence and voluptuousness.

The seducing attraction of public debts will spread more and more. When men can reap the fruits without work, every individual will engage in that species of employment which is at once lucrative and easy. Proprietors of land and merchants will all turn annuitants. Money is changed into state paper, because the sign is more portable, less subject to alteration from time, and less liable to the injury of seasons, and the rapacity of the farmers of the revenue. Agriculture, trade and industry will suffer from the preference given to the representative paper above the real specie or commodity. As the state always makes a bad distribution of that which has been wrongfully acquired, in proportion as its debts increase, the taxes must be raised in order to pay the interest. Thus all the active and fruitful classes of society are stripped and exhausted by the idle and barren class of annuitants. The increase of taxes raises the price of commodities, and consequently that of industry. By these means, consumption is lessened; because exportation ceases as soon as merchandise is too dear to stand the competitions of other nations. Land and manufactures are equally affected.

The inability the state then finds in itself to answer its engagements, forces it to extricate itself by a method the most destructive of the freedom of the people, and of the power of the sovereign, by bankruptcy. The necessity of this fatal crisis of empires, which oversets the fortunes of every one, will at length approach; a method that by violence despoils the creditors, after having attracted to itself

BOOK XIX.

itself every ſtock by uſurious intereſt, and by edicts for loans, which diſgrace the monarch by cruel failures after his moſt ſolemn engagements, forfeiting the oaths of the prince and the rights of his ſubjects; overturning without reſource the ſureſt baſis of all government, public confidence.—Such is the end of loans, from whence we may judge of the principles on which they are founded.

Fine arts and Belles Lettres.

After having examined the baſis and columns of every civilized ſociety, let us take a view of the ornaments and decorations of the building. Theſe are the fine arts, and polite literature. Two famous people raiſed themſelves by works of genius to a height of reputation which will never end, and which will always reflect honour on the human ſpecies.

Chriſtianity, after having demoliſhed in Europe all the idols of Pagan antiquity, preſerved ſome of the arts to ſerve as a ſupport to the influence of perſuaſion, and to favour the preaching of the goſpel. But in the place of a religion embelliſhed with the gay divinities of Greece and Rome, it erected monuments of terror and ſadneſs, conformable to the tragic events which ſignalized its birth and progreſs. The Gothic ages have left us ſome monuments, the boldneſs and majeſty of which ſtill ſtrike the eye amidſt the ruins of taſte and elegance. Every one of their temples was built in the ſhape of the croſs, covered with the croſs, filled with crucifixes, decorated with horrid and gloomy images, with ſcaffolds, tortures, martyrs, and executioners.

What became of the arts, condemned as they were to terrify the imagination by continual ſpectacles of blood, death, and future puniſhments? They became as hideous as their models, barbarous as the princes and pontiffs that employed them, mean and baſe as the adorers of their works, they frightened children in their very cradles; they

aggravated

aggravated the horrors of the grave by an eternal perspective of terrible shades; they spread melancholy over the whole face of the land. BOOK XIX.

At length the period arrived for lessening those scaffoldings of religion and social policy. The fine arts returned with literature from Greece into Italy by the Mediterranean, which maintained the commerce between Asia and Europe. The Huns, under the name of Goths, had driven them from Rome to Constantinople; and the very same Huns, under the name of Turks, drove them back again from Constantinople to Rome. That city, destined as it was to rule by force or by stratagem, cultivated and revived the arts, which had been a long time buried in oblivion.

Walls, columns, statues, vases, were drawn forth from the dust of ages, and the ruins of Italy, for models of the fine arts at their revival. The genius which presides over design raised three of the arts at once; I mean architecture, sculpture and painting. Architecture, in which convenience of itself regulated those proportions of symmetry that contribute to give pleasure to the eye; sculpture, which flatters princes, and is the reward of great men; and painting, which perpetuates the remembrance of noble actions, and the instances of mutual love. Italy alone had more superb cities, more magnificent edifices than all the rest of Europe put together. Rome, Florence and Venice bred three schools of original painters: so much does genius appertain to the imagination, and imagination to the climate. Had Italy possessed the treasures of Mexico, and the produce of Asia, how much more would the arts have been enriched by the discovery of both the Indies.

That country, of old so fruitful in heroes, and afterwards in artists, beheld literature, which is the inseparable

BOOK XIX.

ſeparable companion of the arts, flouriſh a ſecond time. They had been ſtifled by a ſeries of barbarous latinity, corrupted and diſfigured by religion.—A mixture of Egyptian theology, Grecian philoſophy, and Hebrew poetry; ſuch was the Latin language in the mouths of Monks, who chanted all night, and taught by day things and words they did not underſtand.

THE mythology of the Romans revived in literature the graces of antiquity. The ſpirit of imitation borrowed them at firſt without choice. Cuſtom introduced taſte in the employment of thoſe rich treaſures. The Italian genius, too fertile not to invent, mixed its bold ſtrokes, and its capricious flights, with the rules and modes of their old maſters, even the fictions of fairy land with thoſe of fable. The manners of the age, and the national character gave their own tincture to the works of imagination. Petrarch had drawn that celeſtial virgin, beauty, which ſerved as a model for the heroines of chivalry. Armida was the emblem of the coquetry which reigned in her time in Italy. Arioſto confounded all kinds of poetry, in a work, which may rather be called the labyrinth of poetry, than a poem. That author will ſtand ſingle in the hiſtory of literature, like the enchanted palaces of his own conſtruction in the deſerts.

LETTERS and arts, after croſſing the ſea, paſſed the Alps. In the ſame manner as the Cruſades had brought the oriental romances into Italy, the wars of Charles the VIIIth and Lewis the XIIth tranſported into France ſome principles of good literature. Francis the firſt, if he had not been to diſpute the Milaneſe with Charles the Vth, would never, perhaps, have been ambitious of the title of *the Father of letters*: but theſe ſeeds of knowledge and improvement in the arts were loſt in the religious wars. They were collected, if I may be allowed the expreſſion,

in

in blood and carnage; and the time came when they were to ſpring up and bring forth fruit. The 16th century belonged to Italy, the ſucceeding one to France, which by the victories of Lewis the XIVth, or rather by the genius of great men, that flouriſhed together under his reign, deſerves to make an epocha in the hiſtory of the fine arts. BOOK XIX.

As it had been in Italy, ſo in France genius ſeized at once upon all the powers of the human mind. It was diſplayed in the marble, and on the canvas, in public edifices and gardens; as well as in eloquence and poetry. Every thing was ſubmitted to its influence, not only the ingenious mechanic arts, but thoſe alſo which depend ſolely on the mind. Every thing bore the ſtamp of genius. The colours viſible in nature animated the works of imagination; and the human paſſions enlivened the deſigns of the pencil. Man gave ſpirit to matter, and body to ſpirit. But let it be well obſerved this happened at a time when a paſſion for glory warmed the nation, great and powerful as it was by its ſituation, and the extent of its empire. The ſenſe of honour which raiſed it in its own eſtimation, and which then characteriſed it in the eyes of all Europe, was its ſoul, its inſtinct, and ſupplied the place of that liberty which had formerly created the arts of genius in the republics of Greece and Rome, which had revived them in that of Florence, and which had compelled them to puſh forth on the cold and foggy borders of the Thames.

What would not genius have done in France, had it been under the influence of laws only, when it ſoared ſo high under the dominion of the moſt abſolute of kings! When we ſee what energy patriotiſm has given to the Engliſh, in ſpite of the inactivity of their climate, we may judge what it might have produced amongſt the French, where a moſt mild temperature of ſeaſon leads a

BOOK XIX.

people, naturally ſenſible and lively, to invention and enjoyment. We may judge what might have been done in a country, where as of old in Greece, are found ſpirits warm and apt for invention, beneath a ſun that enlivens them with its pureſt beams; nervous arms, in a climate where even the cold excites to labour: temperate provinces between north and ſouth: ſea-ports ſeconded by navigable rivers: vaſt plains abounding in corn: hills loaded with vineyards and fruits of all ſorts: ſalt pits which may be multiplied at pleaſure: paſtures covered with horſes: mountains clothed with the fineſt woods: a country every where peopled with laborious hands, which are the firſt reſources for ſubſiſtence: the common materials for the arts, and the ſuperfluities of luxury: in a word, the commerce of Athens, the induſtry of Corinth, the ſoldiery of Sparta, and the flocks of Arcadia. With all theſe advantages, which Greece once poſſeſſed, France might have carried the fine arts to as great a height as that parent of genius, had ſhe but had the ſame laws, the ſame exerciſe of reaſon and liberty, which give riſe to great men, and rulers of great nations.

NEXT to the ſuperiority of legiſlation, among modern nations, in order for their being equal to the ancients in works of genius, there has, perhaps, been wanting nothing except an improvement in language. The Italian, with tone, accent, and numbers, has aſſumed all the characteriſtics of poetry, and impreſſed all the charms of muſic. Theſe two arts have conſecrated it to the delightful province of harmony, as its ſofteſt mode of expreſſion.

THE French language holds the ſuperiority in proſe; if it is not the language of the gods, it is, at leaſt, that of reaſon and truth. Proſe eſpecially ſpeaks to reaſon in philoſophy. It enlightens thoſe minds privileged by nature,

ture, which ſeem placed between princes and their ſubjects to inſtruct and direct mankind. At a period when liberty has no longer her tribunes, nor amphitheatres, to agitate vaſt aſſemblies of the people, a language which ſpreads itſelf in books, which is read in all countries, which ſerves as the common interpreter of all other languages, and as the vehicle of all ſorts of ideas: a language ennobled, refined, ſoftened, and above all, fixed by the genius of writers, and the poliſh of courts, becomes at length univerſally prevailing.

The Engliſh language has likewiſe had its poets, and its proſe-writers, that have gained it the character of energy and boldneſs, ſufficient to make it immortal. May it be learned among all nations that aſpire not to be ſlaves. They will dare to think, act, and govern themſelves. It is not the language of words, but of ideas; and the Engliſh have none but ſuch as are ſtrong and forcible; they are the firſt who ever made uſe of the expreſſion, *the majeſty of the people*, and that alone is ſufficient to conſecrate a language.

The Spaniards have hitherto properly had neither proſe nor verſe, though they have a language formed to excel in both. Brilliant and ſonorous as pure gold, its pace is grave and regular like the dances of that nation: it is grand and decent like the manners of ancient chivalry. That tongue will be able to maintain ſome dignity, even acquire ſome ſuperiority, whenever there ſhall be found in it many ſuch writers as Cervantes and Mariana. When its academy ſhall have put to ſilence the inquiſition and its univerſities, that language will raiſe itſelf to great ideas, and to ſublime truths, to which it is invited by the natural high ſpirit of the people who ſpeak it.

Prior to all other living languages is the German, that mother tongue, that original native language of Eu-

BOOK XIX.

rope. From thence the Engliſh and French too have been formed, by the mixture of the German with the Latin. However, as it ſeems hardly calculated to pleaſe the eye, and for polite organs, it has remained in the mouths of the people, and has been introduced but of late into books. A ſcarcity of writers ſeemed to ſhew that it belonged to a country where the fine arts, poetry and eloquence were not deſtined to flouriſh. But on a ſudden, genius has exerted her powers, and originals in more than one ſpecies of poetry, have appeared in pretty conſiderable numbers, ſufficient to come into competition with other nations.

LANGUAGES could not be cultivated and refined to a certain degree, but the arts of every kind muſt keep pace with that degree of perfection; and indeed the monuments of theſe arts have multiplied ſo much throughout Europe, that the barbariſm of ſucceeding people and of ages to come will find it difficult entirely to deſtroy them.

HOWEVER, as the human ſpecies is merely a ſubject for fermentations and revolutions, there is only wanting ſome ardent genius, ſome enthuſiaſt to ſet the world again in flames. The people of the eaſt, and of the north, are ready to ſpread their chains, and their darkneſs over all Europe. Would not an irruption of Tartars or Africans into Italy, be ſufficient to overturn churches, and palaces, to confound in one general ruin the idols of religion, and the maſter-works of art? And as we are ſo much attached to theſe works of luxury, we ſhould have the leſs ſpirit to defend them. A city, which it has coſt two centuries to decorate, is burnt and ravaged in a ſingle day. Perhaps, with one ſtroke of his axe, a Tartar may daſh in pieces the ſtatue of Voltaire, that Pigalle could not finiſh within the compaſs of ten years.

And

And ſtill we are at work for immortality. Vain atoms that we are, preſſed forward by one another in the ſhade from whence we began. Ye nations, whether artiſans or ſoldiers, what are ye in the hands of nature, but the ſport of her laws, deſtined by turns to ſet duſt in motion, and to reduce the work again into duſt.

But it is by means of the arts that man enjoys his exiſtence, and ſurvives himſelf.—Ages of ignorance never emerge from their oblivion. There remains no more trace of them after their exiſtence, than before they began to exiſt. There is no poſſibility of indicating the place or time of their paſſage, nor can we mark on the ground belonging to a barbarous people, *it is here they lived*; for they leave not even ruins to record them. It is invention alone that gives man power over matter and time. The genius of Homer has rendered the Greek characters indelible. Harmony and reaſon have placed the eloquence of Cicero above the ſacred orators. The pontiffs themſelves, ſoftened and enlightened by the information and charm of the arts, by being admirers and protectors of them, have aſſiſted the human mind to break the chains of ſuperſtition. Commerce has haſtened the progreſs of art by means of the luxury which wealth has diffuſed. Every effort of the mind and of the body has been united to embelliſh and improve the lot of the human ſpecies. Induſtry and invention, together with the enjoyments procured by the new world, have penetrated as far as the polar circle, and the fine arts are attempting to force nature even at Peterſburgh.

To the train of letters and fine arts philoſophy is annexed, which one would imagine ought rather to conduct them: but appearing later than they did can only follow as an attendant. Arts ariſe from the very neceſſities of mankind in the earlieſt ſtate of the human mind. Letters are Philoſophy.

BOOK XIX.

the flowers of its youth: children of the imagination, being themſelves fond of ornament, they decorate every thing they approach: and this turn for embelliſhment produces what are properly called the fine arts or the arts of luxury and decoration, which give the poliſh to the primary arts of neceſſity. It is then we ſee the winged genii of ſculpture fluttering over the porticos of architecture; and the genii of painting entering palaces, repreſenting the heavens upon a cieling, ſketching out upon wool and ſilk all the animated ſcenes of rural life, and tracing to the mind upon canvas the uſeful truths of hiſtory as well as the agreeable chimæras of fable.

When the mind has been employed on the pleaſures of the imagination and of the ſenſes, when governments have arrived to a degree of maturity, reaſon ariſes and beſtows on the nations a certain gravity; this is the age of philoſophy. She advances with gradual ſteps and proceeds ſilently along, announcing the old age of empires which ſhe attempts in vain to ſupport. She cloſed the latter ages of the fine republics of Greece and Rome. Athens had no philoſophers till the eve of her ruin, which they ſeemed to foretell: Cicero and Lucretius did not compoſe their writings on the nature of the gods, and the ſyſtem of the world, till the din of civil wars aroſe, and haſtened the downfal of liberty.

However, Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras had ſown the ſeeds of philoſophy in their theory concerning the elements of matter; but the folly of ſyſtems deſtroyed all theſe principles one by another. Then Socrates appeared, who brought philoſophy back to the principles of true wiſdom and virtue: it was that alone he loved, practiſed and taught; perſuaded that man has no need of ſcience, but of morals, to be happy. Plato, his diſciple, though a natural philoſopher and inſtructed

ſtructed in the myſteries of nature by his travels into Egypt, aſcribed every thing to the ſoul, and ſcarce any thing to nature; he overwhelmed philoſophy with theology, and the knowledge of the univerſe with the ideas of the divine powers. Ariſtotle, Plato's diſciple, diſcourſed leſs of God than of Man and the animal creation. His natural hiſtory has been tranſmitted to poſterity, though his ſyſtem was not univerſally followed by the people of his time. Epicurus, who lived nearly about the ſame period, revived the atoms of Democritus, which doubtleſs balanced the four elements of Ariſtotle, and in this equilibrium of ſyſtems, natural philoſophy could not make any progreſs. The moraliſts led the people in their train as they are better underſtood than the naturaliſts. They formed their ſchools; for no ſooner do opinions gain a degree of reputation than parties are formed to ſupport them.

In theſe circumſtances, Greece agitated by interior commotions after having been torn with an inteſtine war, was ſubjected by Macedon, and broken in pieces by Rome. Then public calamities turned the hearts and underſtandings of men to morality. Zeno and Democritus who had been only naturaliſts became, long after their death, the heads of two ſects of moraliſts, more addicted to theology than phyſics, rather caſuiſts than philoſophers; or it might rather be affirmed that philoſophy was given up and confined entirely to the ſophiſts. The Romans, who took every thing from the Greeks, made no diſcoveries in the true field of philoſophy. Among the ancients philoſophy made little progreſs; becauſe it was entirely confined to morality: among the moderns its firſt ſteps have been more fortunate, becauſe they have been guided by the light of natural knowledge.

We muſt not reckon the interval of near a thouſand years, during which period philoſophy, ſcience, arts and

BOOK XIX.

letters, ſlept in the grave with Roman empire, among the aſhes of Italy, and the duſt of cloyſters. Aſia preſerved the monuments of it without making any uſe of them, and Europe ſome fragments without knowing them. The world, Chriſtian or Mohammedan, was every where covered with the blood of nations: ignorance alone triumphed under the ſtandard of the croſs or the creſcent. Before theſe dreaded ſigns, every knee was bent, every ſpirit trembled. Philoſophy continued in a ſtate of infancy, pronouncing only the names of God and of the ſoul: her attention was ſolely engaged on matters of which ſhe ſhould for ever remain ignorant. Time, argument and all her application was waſted on queſtions that were, at leaſt, idle; queſtions, for the moſt part, void of ſenſe, not to be defined, and not to be determined from the nature of their object; and which, therefore, proved an eternal ſource of diſputes, ſchiſms, ſects, hatred, perſecution, and national as well as religious wars.

In the mean time, the Arabs after their conqueſts carried away as it were in triumph, the ſpoils of genius and philoſophy. Ariſtotle fell into their hands, ſaved out of the ruins of ancient Greece. Theſe deſtroyers of empires had ſome ſciences of which they had been the firſt authors. Calculation was of their invention. Aſtronomy and geometry accompanied them along the coaſts of Africa, which they laid waſte and peopled again. Medicine attended them every where. That ſcience which has, perhaps, no greater recommendation in its favour, than its affinity with chymiſtry and natural knowledge, rendered them as famous as aſtrology, another ſupport of impoſition. Avicenna and Averroès, phyſicians, mathematicians, and philoſophers maintained the tradition of true ſcience by tranſlations and commentaries. But let us imagine what muſt become of Ariſtotle, tranſlated from Greek into Arabic,

Arabic, and after that, from Arabic into Latin, under the hands of monks, who wanted to adapt the philoſophy of paganiſm to the Hebrew codes of Moſes and Chriſt. That confuſion of ſyſtems, ideas and language ſtopped for a conſiderable time the ſtructure of ſcience. The divine overturned the materials brought by the philoſopher, who ſapped the very foundations laid by his rival. However, with a few ſtones from one, and much ſand from the other, ſome miſerable architects built up a ſtrange Gothic monument, called the philoſophy of the ſchools. Continually patched, propped and plaiſtered from age to age, by Iriſh or Spaniſh metaphyſicians, it ſupported itſelf till about the time of diſcovery of the new world, which was deſtined to change the face of the old one.

LIGHT ſprang from the midſt of darkneſs. An Engliſh monk attended to the practice of chymiſtry, and paving the way for the invention of gun-powder, which was to bring America into ſubjection to Europe, he opened the avenues of true ſcience by experimental philoſophy. Thus ſcience iſſued out of the cloyſter, where ignorance remained. When Bocaccio had expoſed the debauched lives of the regular and ſecular clergy, Galileo ventured conjectures upon the figure of the earth. Superſtition was alarmed at it, and with its clamours ſent forth its thunders; but philoſophy tore off the maſk from the monſter, and rent the veil under which truth had been hid. The weakneſs and falſehood of popular opinions was perceived, on which the baſis of the ſocial edifice was ſupported; but to drive error from her tribunal, it was neceſſary to be acquainted with the laws of nature, and the cauſes of the various phænomena. That was the object philoſophy had in view.

As ſoon as Copernicus was dead, after he had, by force of reaſon, conjectured that the ſun was in the center

BOOK XIX.

center of our world, Galileo aroſe, and confirmed by the invention of the teleſcope the true ſyſtem of aſtronomy which either had been unknown, or lay in oblivion ever ſince Pythagoras had once conceived it. While Gaſſendi was putting the elements of antient philoſophy, or the atoms of Epicurus into motion, Deſcartes agitated and combined the elements of a new philoſophy, or his ingenious and ſubtile vortexes. Almoſt about the ſame time, Toricelli invented, at Florence, the thermometer for the weighing of air; Paſcal meaſured the height of the mountains of Auvergne, and Boyle in England verified and confirmed the various experiments of both the one and the other.

Descartes had taught the art of doubting, in order to undeceive the mind previous to inſtruction. His methodical doubt was the grand inſtrument of ſcience, and the moſt ſignal ſervice that could be rendered to the human mind under the darkneſs which ſurrounded it, and the chains which fettered it. Bayle, by applying that method to opinions the beſt authoriſed by the ſanction of time and compulſion, has made us ſenſible of the importance of doubting.

Chancellor Bacon, a philoſopher, but unſucceſsful at court, as friar Bacon had been in the cloyſter, like him the harbinger rather than the legiſlator of the new philoſophy, had proteſted equally againſt the prejudice of the ſenſes and the ſchools, as againſt thoſe phantoms he ſtiled the idols of the underſtanding. He had foretold truths he could not diſcover. In conformity to his oracular preſages, while experimental philoſophy was diſcovering facts; rational philoſophy was in ſearch of cauſes. Both contributed to the ſtudy of mathematics, which were to guide the efforts of the mind and inſure their ſucceſs. It was, in fact, the ſcience of algebra applied to geometry,

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and the application of geometry to natural philoſophy, which raiſed in Newton ſuſpicions of the true ſyſtem of the world. Upon turning his eyes up to the heavens, by his obſervations on the fall of bodies to the earth, he ſaw there might be among the motions of the heavenly bodies ſome relations which implied an univerſal principle, differing from impulſion, the only viſible cauſe of all their movements. By the ſtudy of optics after aſtronomy, he conjectured the origin of light; and the experiments to which he was led on by that conjecture, changed it into ſyſtem. BOOK XIX.

At the time when Deſcartes died, Newton and Leibnitz were hardly born, who were to finiſh, correct and bring to perfection what he had begun, that is to ſay, the eſtabliſhing of ſound philoſophy. Theſe two men alone greatly contributed to its quick and rapid progreſs. One carried the knowledge of God and the ſoul, as far as reaſon could lead it; and the inutility of his attempts undeceived the human mind for ever with reſpect to thoſe falſe metaphyſics. The other extended the principles of natural philoſophy and the mathematics much further than the genius of many ages had been able to carry them, and pointed out the road to truth. At the ſame time Locke attacked ſcientific prejudices even into the intrenchments of the ſchools: he diſſipated all thoſe phantoms of the imagination, which Mallebranche ſuffered to ſpring up again, after he had humbled them, becauſe he did not go to the root of the hydra's head.

But we are not to ſuppoſe philoſophers alone have diſcovered and imagined every thing. It is the courſe of events which has given a certain bent to the actions and thoughts of mankind. A complication of natural or moral cauſes, a gradual improvement in politics joined to the progreſs of ſtudy and of the ſciences, a combination

BOOK XIX.

tion of circumſtances which it was as impoſſible to haſten as to foreſee, muſt have contributed to the revolution that has prevailed in the underſtandings of men. Among nations as among individuals, the body and ſoul act and react alternately upon each other. Popular opinions infect even philoſophers, and philoſophers are guides to the people. Galileo had aſſerted, that as the earth turned round the ſun, there muſt be antipodes; and Drake proved the fact, by a voyage round the world. The church ſtyled itſelf univerſal, and the Pope called himſelf maſter of the earth: and yet more than two thirds of its inhabitants did not ſo much as know there was any catholic religion, and particularly that there was a pope. Europeans, who have travelled and trafficked every where, taught Europe that one portion of the globe lived under the laws of Mohammed, and a ſtill larger one in the darkneſs of idolatry, or in the total ignorance and unenlightened ſtate of atheiſm. Thus philoſophy extended the empire of human knowledge, by the diſcovery of the errors of ſuperſtition, and of the truths of nature.

ITALY, whoſe impatient genius penetrated through the obſtacles that ſurrounded it, was the firſt that founded an academy of natural philoſophy. France and England, who by their rivalſhip were to extend their greatneſs, raiſed at one time two everlaſting monuments to the improvement of philoſophy: two academies from whence all the learned of Europe draw their information, and in which they depoſit all their ſtores of knowledge. From hence have been brought to light a great number of the myſterious points in nature, experiments, phænomena, diſcoveries in the arts and ſciences, the ſecrets of electricity, and the cauſes of the Aurora Borealis. Hence have proceeded the inſtruments and means of purifying air on board of ſhips, for making ſea water fit to be drunk, for de-

determining the figure of the earth, and ascertaining the longitudes; for improving agriculture, and for producing more grain with less seed and less labour. BOOK XIX.

Aristotle had reigned ten centuries in all the schools of Europe; and the christians, after losing the guidance of reason, were able to recover it again only by following his example. They had even gone astray, for a long time, by attending on that philosopher, because they walked involved in the darkness of theology. But at last Descartes gave the thread, and Newton the wings for getting out of that labyrinth. Doubt had dissipated prejudices, and the method of analysis had found out the truth. After the two Bacons, Galileo and Descartes, Locke and Bayle, Leibnitz and Newton, after the memoirs of the academies of Florence and Leipsic, of Paris and London, there still remained a great work to be composed, in order to perpetuate the sciences and philosophy. This work has now appeared.

This book, which contains all the errors and all the truths that have issued from the human mind from the doctrines of theology to the speculations on insects, every work of the hands of men from a ship to a pin; this repository of the intelligence of all nations, will, in future ages, characterize that of philosophy, which after so many advantages procured to mankind ought to be considered as a divinity on earth. It is she who binds, enlightens, aids and comforts human beings. She bestows every thing upon them, without exacting any worship in return. She demands of them, not the sacrifice of their passions, but a reasonable, useful and moderate exercise of all their faculties. Daughter of nature, dispenser of her gifts, interpreter of her rights, she consecrates her intelligence and her labour to the use of man. She makes him better, that he may be happier. She detests only

BOOK XIX.

only tyranny and impoſture, becauſe they trample on the world. She does not deſire to rule, but ſhe exacts of ſuch as do rule that they covet no enjoyment but the public happineſs. She avoids diſturbance, and the name of ſects, but ſhe tolerates them all. The blind and the wicked calumniate her; the former are afraid of ſeeing, and the latter of being ſeen. Ungrateful children, who rebel againſt a tender mother, when ſhe wiſhes to cure them of their errors and vices which occaſion the calamities of mankind.

LIGHT, however, ſpreads inſenſibly over a more extenſive horizon. A kind of empire is formed, that of literature, which begins and paves the way for the republic of Europe. In truth, if philoſophy is ever enabled to inſinuate itſelf into the minds of ſovereigns or their miniſters, the ſyſtem of politics will be improved, and rendered ſimple. Humanity will be more regarded in all their plans; the public good will enter into their negotiations, not merely as an expreſſion, but as a matter of conſequence even to kings.

ALREADY has printing made ſuch progreſs that it can never be put a ſtop to in any ſtate without lowering the people by deſiring to advance the authority of government. Books enlighten the multitude, humanize the great, delight the leiſure of the rich, and inform all the claſſes of ſociety. The ſciences bring to perfection the different branches of political œconomy. Even the errors of ſyſtematical perſons are diſſipated by the preſs, becauſe reaſoning and diſcuſſion try them by the teſt of truth.

AN intercourſe of knowledge is become neceſſary for induſtry, and literature alone maintains that communication. The reading of a voyage round the world has, perhaps, occaſioned more attempts of that kind; for intereſt alone cannot find the means of enterprize. At preſent

present nothing can be cultivated without some study, or without the knowledge handed down and diffused by reading. Princes themselves have not recovered their rights from the usurpations of the clergy, but by the assistance of that intelligence which has undeceived the people with respect to the abuses of all spiritual power.

But it would be the greatest folly of the human mind to have employed all its powers to raise the authority of kings, and to break every other shackle in order to forge out of them that of despotism. The same courage that religion inspires to withdraw conscience from the tyranny exercised over opinion, the honest man, the citizen, and friend of the people ought to maintain to free the nations from the tyranny of such powers as conspire against the liberty of mankind. Unhappy is that state in which there is not to be found one single defender of public right. The kingdom, with all its riches, its trade, its nobles, and its citizens must soon fall into unavoidable anarchy. It is the laws that are to save a nation from destruction, and the freedom of writing is to save the laws? But what is the foundation and bulwark of the laws? It is morality.

Morals.

There are whole libraries of morality. What a number of useless and even pernicious books! They are, for the most part, the work of priests and their disciples, who not chusing to see that religion should consider men only in the relations they stand in to the divinity, found it necessary to look for another ground for the relations they bear among one another. If there is an universal morality, it cannot be the effect of a particular cause. It has been the same in times past, and it will be still the same in ages to come; it cannot then be grounded on religious opinions, which have continually varied ever since the beginning of the world, and from one pole to the other.

BOOK XIX.

other. Greece had vicious deities, the Romans had them likewiſe: the ſtupid worſhippers of the Fetiche adores rather a devil than a God. Every people made gods for themſelves, and made them as they pleaſed: ſome good, others cruel: ſome immoral, and others of auſtere manners. One would think that every nation had a mind to deify their own paſſions and opinions. Notwithſtanding that diverſity in religious ſyſtems and modes of worſhip, all nations have perceived that men ought to be juſt: all nations have honoured as virtues, goodneſs, pity, friendſhip, fidelity, paternal tenderneſs, filial reſpect, ſincerity, gratitude, love of one's country; in ſhort all the feelings that can be conſidered as tyes adapted to unite men more cloſely to one another. The origin of that uniformity of judgment ſo conſtant, ſo general, ought not then to be looked for in the midſt of contradictory and fluctuating opinions. If the miniſters of religion have appeared to think otherwiſe, it is becauſe by their ſyſtem they gained the power of regulating all the actions of mankind; they diſpoſed of all their fortunes; of all their wills: they ſecured to themſelves in the name of Heaven the arbitrary government of the world—the veil is now removed.

At the tribunal of philoſophy and reaſon, morality is a ſcience whoſe object is the preſervation and common happineſs of the human ſpecies. To this double end all its rules ought to tend. Their natural, conſtant, eternal principle is in man himſelf, and the reſemblance of organs in one man to thoſe of another; a reſemblance in this particular which brings with it a ſimilarity of wants, of pleaſures, and pains, of force and weakneſs; whence ariſes the neceſſity of ſociety, or of a common ſtruggle againſt dangers equally incident to each individual, which proceed from nature herſelf, and threaten man on all ſides. Such is the origin of particular ties

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and of domeſtic virtues; ſuch is the origin of general ties and public virtues; ſuch is the ſource of the notion of perſonal and public utility, the ſource of all compacts between individuals, and of all laws of government.

SEVERAL writers have endeavoured to trace the firſt principles of morality in the ſentiments of friendſhip, tenderneſs, compaſſion, honour, and benevolence; becauſe they found them engraven on the human heart. But did they not find there likewiſe hatred, jealouſy, revenge, pride, and the love of dominion? Why then have they founded morality on the former rather than the latter? It is becauſe they found that the former affections turned to the common advantage of ſociety, and that the others were fatal to it. Theſe philoſophers have perceived the neceſſity of morals, they have conceived what they ought to be, but have not diſcovered their leading and fundamental principle. In truth, the very ſentiments they adopt as the ground-work of morality, becauſe they appear to be ſerviceable to the common good, left to themſelves would be very prejudicial. How ſhould we determine to puniſh the guilty if we liſtened only to compaſſion? How ſhall we guard againſt partiality, if we conſult only the dictates of friendſhip? How ſhould we avoid being favourable to idleneſs, if we attended only to the feelings of benevolence? All theſe virtues have their limits, beyond which they degenerate into vices; and thoſe limits are ſettled by the invariable rules of eſſential juſtice; or, which is the ſame thing, by the common intereſts of men united together in ſociety and the conſtant object of that union.

THESE limits, it is true, have not yet been aſcertained; but how ſhould they have been, ſince it has not been poſſible to fix what the common intereſt itſelf was? And this is the reaſon why among all people, and at all times,

BOOK XIX.

men have formed such different ideas of virtue and vice: why hitherto, morality has appeared to be but a matter of mere convention among men. That so many ages should have passed away in profound ignorance of the first principles of a science so important to our happiness is a certain fact; but so extraordinary that it should appear incredible. It is not to be conceived how it has happened that we should not sooner have discovered that as the uniting of men in society has no other aim but the common happiness of individuals, there is not, neither can there be among them any other social tie than that of their common interest: and that nothing can be consistent with the order of societies, unless it be consistent with the common utility of the members that compose them: that it is this which necessarily determines virtue and vice: and that our actions are consequently more or less virtuous, according as they turn more or less to the common advantage of society: that they are more or less vicious, according as the prejudice society receives from them is greater or less.

Is it on its own account that we raise courage to the number of the virtues? No, it is on account of the service it is of to society. The proof of this is, that it is punished in a man who makes use of it to disturb the public peace. Why is drunkenness a vice? because every man is bound to contribute to the common good, and to fulfil that obligation he has occasion for the free exercise of his faculties. Why are certain actions more blameable in a magistrate or general, than in a private man? Because greater inconvenience results from them to society.

As society ought to be of use to every one of its members; it is but just that each of its members should be useful to society. Therefore to be virtuous, is to be useful:

useful: to be vicious, is to be useless or hurtful. This is morality.

This, indeed, is universal morality—that morality which being connected with the nature of man, is connected with the nature of society; that morality which can vary only in its applications, but never in its essence: that morality, in short, to which all laws should refer, and to which they should be subordinate. In conformity to this common regulation of all our private and public actions; let us see whether there ever were, or ever can be good morals in Europe.

Since the invasion of the barbarous nations into this quarter of the globe, almost all governments have had no other basis than the interest of a single man, or a single set of men, to the prejudice of the whole society. Founded on conquest, the effect of force, they have only varied in the mode of keeping the people in subjection. At first war made victims of them, devoted either to the sword of the master, or of the enemy. How many ages passed among blood and the carnage of nations, that is to say, in the distribution of empires, before terms of peace had let in something of a more divine nature into that state of intestine war called society or government!

When the feudal government had for ever excluded those who tilled the ground from the right of possessing it: when, by a sacrilegious collusion between the altar and the throne, God had been associated with the sword, what effect had the morality of the gospel, but the emboldening of tyranny by passive obedience, but the cementing of slavery by a contempt of all science and all private acquisitions; but the adding to the fear of the great, the dread of demons? And what were morals with such laws? What they are at present in Poland, where the people, being without lands, and without arms, are

BOOK XIX.

left to be cut to pieces by the Ruſſians or enliſted by the Pruſſians, and having neither vigour nor ſentiment, think it is ſufficient if they are chriſtians, and remain neuter between their neighbours and their lords palatine.

To a ſimilar ſtate of anarchy wherein morals had neither any characteriſtic nor ſtability, ſucceeded the epidemic fury of holy wars, by which nations were corrupted and degraded, by communicating the contagion of vices with that of fanaticiſm. Morals were changed by changing climate. All the paſſions were inflamed and heightened between the tombs of Jeſus and Mohammed. From Paleſtine was imported a principle of luxury and pride, a ſtrong taſte for the ſpices of the eaſt, a romantic ſpirit which civilized the nobles of all countries without making the people more happy or more virtuous: for if there is no happineſs without virtue, virtue will never ſupport itſelf without a foundation of happineſs.

About two centuries after Europe had been depopulated by Aſiatic expeditions, its tranſmigration in America happened. That revolution induced an univerſal confuſion, and mixed the vices and productions of every climate with ours. Neither did morality acquire any improvement, becauſe men were then deſtroyed through avarice, inſtead of being maſſacred on account of religion. Thoſe nations which had made the largeſt acquiſitions in the new world, ſeemed to collect at the ſame time all the ſtupidity, ferociouſneſs, and ignorance of the old. They became the communicating channels of vices, and diſeaſes, poor and wretched amidſt all their gold; debauched, notwithſtanding their churches and their prieſts; idle and ſuperſtitious with all the ſources of commerce, and means of being enlightened. But the love of riches likewiſe corrupted all other nations.

Whether

BOOK XIX.

WHETHER it be war or commerce that introduces great wealth into a ſtate, they ſoon become the object of public ambition. At firſt they are men of power who ſeize upon them. Then, as riches come into the hands of thoſe who hold the helm of affairs, wealth is confounded with honour in the minds of the people; and the virtuous citizen, who aſpired to employments only for the ſake of glory, aſpires without knowing it, to honour for the ſake of advantage. Neither lands nor treaſure, any more than conqueſts, are gained but from a wiſh to enjoy them; and riches are enjoyed but for pleaſure and the oſtentation of luxury. By this double uſe, they corrupt as well the citizen who poſſeſſes them, as the people whoſe eyes they faſcinate. As ſoon as men labour, attracted only by lucre, and not from a regard to their duty, the moſt advantageous ſituations are preferred to the moſt honourable. It is then we ſee the honour of a profeſſion diverted, obſcured, and loſt in the paths that lead to wealth.

To the advantage of that falſe conſideration at which riches arrive, are to be added the natural conveniencies of opulence, a freſh ſource of corruption. The placeman wiſhes to draw people about him: the honours he receives in public are not ſufficient for him; he wants admirers, either of his talents, his luxury, or his profuſion. If riches are the means of corruption by leading to honours, how much more ſo by diffuſing the taſte for pleaſure? Miſery offers its chaſtity to ſale, and idleneſs its liberty; the prince ſets the magiſtracy up to ſale, and the magiſtrates ſet a price upon juſtice: the court ſells employments, and placemen ſell the people to the prince, who ſell them again to the neighbouring powers either in treaties of war, or ſubſidy; of peace, or exchange of territory.

SUCH

BOOK XIX.

Such is the ſordid traffic introduced by the love of riches in any country where they can do every thing, and where virtue is held in no eſtimation. But there is no effect without its cauſes. Gold does not become the people's idol, and virtue does not fall into contempt, unleſs the bad conſtitution of the government induces that degree of corruption. Unfortunately, it will always have this effect, if the government is ſo conſtituted that the temporary intereſt of a ſingle perſon, or of a ſmall number, can with impunity prevail over the common and invariable intereſt of the whole. It will always induce this corruption, if thoſe, in whoſe hands authority is lodged, can make an arbitrary uſe of it, can place themſelves above the reach of all rules of juſtice, can make their power adminiſter to plundering, and their plunder to the continuance of abuſes occaſioned by their power. Good laws are maintained by good morals; but good morals are eſtabliſhed by good laws: men are what government makes them. To modify them, it is always armed with an irreſiſtible force, that of public opinion: and the government will always become a corrupter, when by its nature it is itſelf corrupt. In a word, the nations of Europe will have good morals when they have good governments. Let us conclude.

NATIONS, I have diſcourſed to you on your deareſt intereſts. I have placed before your eyes the benefits of nature, and the fruits of induſtry. As ye are too frequently the occaſion of one another's unhappineſs, you muſt have felt how the jealouſy of avarice, how pride and ambition remove far from your common weal the happineſs that preſents itſelf to you by peace and commerce. I have recalled that happineſs you drive away. The feelings of my heart have been warmly expreſſed in favour of all mankind without diſtinction of ſect or country. Men

are

are all equal in my ſight, by the reciprocal relation of the ſame wants and the ſame calamities: as they are all equal in the eyes of the ſupreme being through the relation between their weakneſs and his power.

I am aware that ſubjected as ye are to rulers, your condition depends on them, and that to ſpeak of your evils was to reproach them with their errors or their crimes. This reflection has not prevented me from exerting myſelf. I never thought that the ſacred reſpect due to humanity could poſſibly be irreconcileable with that reſpect which is due to thoſe who ſhould be its natural protectors. I have been tranſported in idea into the councils of the governing powers of the world. I have ſpoken without diſguiſe, and without fear, and have not to reproach myſelf with having betrayed the honourable cauſe I dared to plead. I have told ſovereigns what were their duties, and what were the people's rights. I have traced to them the fatal effects of that inhuman power which is guilty of oppreſſion; and that whoſe ſupineneſs and feebleneſs ſuffers it. I have ſketched all around them portraits of your misfortunes, and they cannot but have felt them. I have warned them that if they turned their eyes away, thoſe true but dreadful pictures would be engraven on the marble of their tombs, and accuſe their aſhes while poſterity trampled on them.

But talents are not always equal to our zeal. Undoubtedly I have ſtood in need of a greater ſhare of that penetration which diſcovers expedients, and that eloquence which enforces truth. Sometimes, perhaps, my feelings have elevated my genius: but moſt frequently have I perceived myſelf overwhelmed with my ſubject, and conſcious of my own inability. May writers better favoured by nature complete, by their maſter-works, what my eſſays have begun. Under the auſpices of philoſophy may there be

BOOK XIX.

be one day extended from one extremity of the world to the other, that chain of union and benevolence which ought to connect all civilized people! May they never more carry among savage nations the example of vice and oppression! I do not flatter myself that, at the period of that happy revolution, my name will be still in remembrance. This feeble work, which will have but the merit of having brought forth others better than itself, will, doubtless, be forgotten. But I shall, at least, be able to say, that I have contributed, as much as was in my power, to the happiness of my fellow-creatures, and pointed out the way, though at a distance, for the bettering of their condition. This agreeable thought will stand me in the stead of glory. It will be the delight of my old age, and the consolation of my latest moments.

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THE END.

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